JEWISH EXPERIENCES IN AMERICA

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Jewish Experiences in America

Suggestions for the Study of Jewish Relations with Non-Jews

Edited by
BRUNO LASKER

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PREFACE

WHY, it may be asked, does an undenominational organization address to Jewish groups an outline for the study of Jewish-Gentile relations in America? If attitudes and practices are to be modified, surely those attitudes and practices should be tackled first that are most potent as trouble breeders. Jews may be as bad—even worse, let us say for argument's sake—than non-Jews in their discriminations and prejudices; but how many people suffer from these as compared with those who suffer from the discriminations and prejudices of the dominant group? Is not improvement in the relations of any two social groups to be sought primarily in the elimination of those attitudes on the part of members of the large majority that actually inflict injustice and constitute barriers to social good will and fellowship? Is not, for instance, the problem of native-immigrant relations rather one for natives, and that of Negro-White relations one for Whites, and also that of Jewish-Christian relations one for Christians? Not, to emphasize the point again, because Whites are more culpable than Negroes or natives than immigrants, or Christians than Jews, but because in each of these cases the first named are the more powerful and more largely determine what the relationship shall be.

The Inquiry has so much recognized what there is of truth in this objection that in nearly all its previous publications in the field of group relations it has primarily addressed itself to the dominant majority—so much so, indeed, that it has been criticized for painting the native white American of Nordic ancestry and Protestant church membership too one-sidedly as an unscrupulous exploiter of the rest of the citizenry. That impression, of course, can result only from a superficial perusal of these publications which in every case make it clear that they deal with specific types of situation and not with a rounded picture of all aspects of group relations in America. Nevertheless it is true that, being both realistic and practical in aim and method, the Inquiry has endeavored to start educational processes first where they will count for most, namely among the powerful, those conscious of their inherited rights, whether as the older inhabitants or as the majority. The adverse experiences suffered by American Jews in situations of conflict with this majority have incidentally been brought out in a number of these publications, notably the three discussion outlines on race relations, *And Who Is My Neighbor?*, *All Colors,* and *Race Attitudes in Children;* while in the pamphlets on discussion method, *A Co-operative Technique for Conflict* and *Creative Discussion,* a problem of conflict in which Jews are the sufferers was made the pivotal illustration.

It has seemed worth while, in view of these earlier educational efforts, deliberately to experiment in the use of discussion as a way of getting the members of a minority to study, with beneficial results to their own understanding and incidentally to social peace, some of these very same problems which previously have been made subjects of study for the majority. Obviously, the Jewish group was particularly suitable for such an experiment because it is composed largely of intelligent people who already have given much thought to the matter; because the antagonism that confronts it has a variety of interesting phases and features; and, chiefly, because a number of Jewish organizations have at various times requested the Inquiry, as an undenominational movement in which Jews as well as Christians are taking an active part, to help them in the elaboration of a worthwhile method toward the indicated end.

It is interesting to note in passing that an experiment of the Inquiry with a method of promoting a truly educational effort for better mutual understanding between Protestants and Catholics, begun among members of the majority group, likewise has produced a desire for a similar undertaking from the side of the minority, and that a number of Catholic organizations have entered with a great deal of spirit into the adaptation of the method originally tried out with Protestants to the needs of the members of the minority.

No apology is needed, therefore, for offering this present volume specifically to Jewish study groups and for asking them to accept it in the spirit of experimental openmindedness in which the project was conceived. It is tentative, both as regards the uses of material included and as regards the methods suggested; and it is hoped that those willing to take part in this pioneer study will report back their experience and their suggestions for improvements of the text.

One difficulty has to be anticipated: Obviously, members of a minority group struggling for social recognition and appreciation are more sensitive to criticism than are the members of the dominant group who are secure in their enjoyment of privilege and power. Therefore, illustrative material reflecting unfavorably upon Jewish characteristics—even when clearly described as exceptional or limited to specific types—is more apt to be received with resentment than the most critical indictment of a majority group would be. This is an inevitable psychological factor in the situation; but obviously it would have been untrue to our purpose to omit such material in the present case or to water down any expressed or inherent criticism of Jewish or supposedly Jewish idiosyncrasies to make it less unpalatable. For, as in every project of this kind sponsored by the Inquiry and the organizations cooperating with it, one end in view is a very practical one—namely, to help members of study groups to arrive at agreements as to possible contributions of their own, both as individuals and as groups, toward the solution of the problems raised; and that means they must try to understand, however disagreeable the task may be, what others think of them and how their acts and behavior look to others who regard them from a different point of view. Therefore, the value of the illustrative material offered does not consist in the objective accuracy of description and interpretation—which, obviously, much of it does not possess—but rather in its evidence as to the nature of other states of mind and of the diversity of impressions produced by one set of facts upon persons with different backgrounds and experiences. Especially where members of the study group represent more or less the same social background, it may be necessary by use of this given material to correct its limitations in that respect.

It is precisely because recognition of the limitations of experience is necessary as a first step in the process of understanding that the present project addresses itself to one of the two major parties in a social situation and not to study groups composed of representatives of both. Experience has shown that, unless such preliminary self-study has taken place, joint discussion groups of Jews and Christians are apt to have an air of unreality. Either there is an atmosphere of tenseness and a defensive reaction toward everything that is being contributed by members of the "other side"; or there is an air of politeness and overstressed cordiality in which real issues cannot easily come to the surface. At the same time, there are points in the discussion where it will be particularly valuable to have first-hand information about non-Jewish opinions and attitudes; and various places have been indicated in the present outline of procedure where it would—at least in some cases, if not in all—be worth while to have ready at hand either a personal representative of non-Jewish experience (such, for example, as an officer of an institution that has a definite policy of excluding Jews which it is willing to explain—see page 253) or extracts from literature giving points of view not otherwise accessible.

While the individual reader and student will want to skip the detailed Suggestions for Discussion Leaders (Part IV), the general outline (Part I) should help him to crystallize his thought and to analyse his personal experience. Likewise the attitude tests (Part V), though primarily intended for group use, offer a convenient guide to individual self-examination.

A preliminary mimeographed draft of this study was distributed for criticism and experiment in the spring and summer of 1928. The wide departure of the present book, in arrangement and in many details, from that first draft will be evidence for those who received it of the generous cooperation which outstanding educators have given in the improvement of the text. While it is impossible to name all who have made valuable suggestions, at least a bare expression of gratitude is due to the following men and women for the time and thought they have devoted to this project: Dr. Alexander Bloch and Mr. Abraham Berger, of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library; the late Dr. Boris D. Bogen; Mrs. Grace Loucks Elliott; Dr. Emanuel Gamoran, of the Commission on Jewish Education; Dr. Sidney E. Goldstein, of the Free Synagogue, New York; Dr. I. M. Rubinow, of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith; Mr. Harry Schneiderman, of the American Jewish Committee; Miss Emily Solis-Cohen and Dr. Mordecai Soltes, of the Jewish Welfare Board; and last, but not least, to the authors who have so generously permitted us to include excerpts from their writings, and to their publishers. A special word of thanks is due to the family of the late Professor Julius

Drachsler for permission to include the unpublished manuscript notes of two lectures.

The book has been edited by Bruno Lasker, of the Inquiry staff, with the assistance of E. C. Carter, S. M. Keeny, E. C. Lindeman and Alfred D. Sheffield.

JEWISH EXPERIENCES IN AMERICA

INTRODUCTION

I. THE OCCASION

A LAWYER and a teacher were leaving the synagogue together. After a few minutes of conversation with others of the congregation, they slowly walked up the street. "The rabbi is making altogether too much of this Goldstein case," said the lawyer, referring to a court scandal that for the last three weeks had been chewed to rags by the Jewish press and this morning had served as the text for a passionate sermon. "Of course the judge didn't give that fellow Goldstein a fair deal; but it isn't the only miscarriage of justice that has ever occurred in our local courts; and anyhow Goldstein, even if he was innocent in this, is not much of a character for the Jewish community to dress up as an injured archangel."

"I don't agree with you," said the teacher. "These prejudiced verdicts happen altogether too often. This man has money and can take his case right up to the Supreme Court, if need be, and the tabloids have played him up because of his millions. But how do we know how the poor man feels in similar circumstances? I tell you, Jews suffer more injustice right here in the United States than anywhere west of Poland."

"Shucks; if it weren't for the Yiddish papers and the rabbis who make all this fuss so as to keep people what they call 'Jewish-minded,' we should never hear anything at all about anti-semitism; we should just take what is coming to us and play our part like every other religious or foreign-born group in this country. Do the German *Vereine* holler every time a man called Schmidt is falsely arraigned? There'll always be cases of injustice, inside and outside the courts; we must protect individuals against it as best we can, of course; but what's the use of always carrying on as though you and I were hit when a fellow like Goldstein gets a raw deal."

"It isn't only men like Goldstein—and you know it. Didn't you yourself last year go with us on that deputation when the Board of Education would not re-appoint Miss Feigenbaum? And, I just happen to think of it, was it altogether a personal matter with you when the *Record* printed a caricature of you with sidelocks and skull-cap that time you were running for the Board of Aldermen?"

"Well, I haven't denied, have I, that Jews are sometimes discriminated against as Jews? But then, a lot of people dislike Italians, and in fact anybody with a foreign name; and some have not yet found out that the war is over and want to deport every Dutchman. What I object to is that we make so much fuss each time a Jew happens to be the victim and so rake up a lot of sentiment against the whole of our people. I tell you, we are making matters a lot worse by constantly discussing this so-called anti-semitism. If every Jew kept quiet about it for a year, the word would disappear from the American language."

"The word, perhaps, but would the thing itself? There aren't many people in this country today who would admit that they are anti-semitic; but they are just the same; and if you keep your eyes open, you can see the evidence many times a day."

"I don't believe a word of it."

"All right, I'll prove it."

They had come to a fashionable club by this time. Motioning his friend to follow him, the teacher walked through the swing-door and said to the doorman: "We have an appointment with Mr. Jesse Samuel" (the name of a leading merchant of the city).

"I am afraid you are mistaken," said the liveried attendant icily, and slowly viewing the visitors from toe to chin, ostentatiously barred their way.

"Here's another one for you," said the teacher as a newsboy held up an early afternoon edition at the bottom of the stairs, and, after paying for it, folded over a page and let his finger glide down a column of advertisements until it pointed to this:

> STENOGRAPHERS—Many attractive positions for well groomed Christian American young women, immediate placement in almost all lines of business, personal interested attention. Call any hour except 1 to 2:30. National Employment Exchange, Hudson Terminal Building, 30 Church St., 7th floor. The Largest Office Position Agency in the World.

and then to this:

> BOY, 17 or over (Christian), some high school education preferred; excellent opportunity for right boy with large insurance company. . . .[1]

"And over there," said the lawyer mockingly, "if you need any more ammunition, is the office of the Council of Churches where they have never yet employed a Jewish janitor."

"Oh, well, if you think this is a joke," retorted the other, "we'll talk about something else. But I see it is time to be home for dinner."

After walking along for a time without talking, the teacher came back to the subject. "I wish," he said, "you would come with me some night to my class at the Y.M.H.A. and listen to what the fellows are talking about when I try to get their minds on the history of Jewish civilization, the subject of my course. And I wish," he added, after a while, "you would also come with me some night to our college fraternity. Their knowledge of anti-semitism comes entirely from the papers and the rabbis, does it?"

---

[1] From the "help wanted" page of the *New York Herald-Tribune* for October 17, 1928.

The lawyer laughed and said he would come. In return, would his friend deign to accompany him next Tuesday to his monthly dinner of the Morris Meyer Club—named after the financier-philanthropist and a rather exclusive gathering of Jewish down-town business men. "I'd like you to know what they are talking about when the editors and the rabbis aren't listening," he said with a smile, as they parted.

So, in due course, the three appointments were made.

IN A CLASS ROOM

The class in Jewish history, when the lawyer arrived, was engaged in a study of Jewish fortunes under the Roman empire, and their contributions to the new social order when the principate gave way to autocracy. Some one was reading from a textbook:

> With the exception of Caligula, who tried to force the imperial cult upon the Jews, the successors of Augustus did not interfere with the Jewish religion, except to forbid its propaganda. The expulsions of the Jews from Rome under Tiberius and Claudius were not religious persecutions but police measures taken for the maintenance of good order within the city.[1]

"Police measures for their own good, the provost probably called them," interrupted an intelligent-looking youngster. "Reminds me of the municipal recreation center in the park where the physical instructor told us last fall, 'You Jewish boys had better make up two teams of your own; you might get hurt playing with these other fellows.' He managed, in the end, to 'protect' us by shooing us altogether out of that gymnasium, as did those old Romans, it seems."

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[1] Arthur E. R. Boak, *A History of Rome,* Macmillan Co., 1921, page 309.

"This talk about expelling Jews, claiming that it is not because of their religion, reminds me of a store where my sister worked for a while," said another. "When the holiday season came round, she and another girl she was with, the only Jewish girls in that place, were allowed to stay home. But when they came back, their jobs had been given to others, and they were assigned to the messy bargain counters. Of course, they left."

The teacher was trying to get back to ancient Rome, and for a time personal reminiscence gave way to questions of historical fact. What sort of a man was Caligula, anyway? Did the Roman conquest of Hellas make any difference to the many Jewish colonies on the western shores of the Ægean Sea and on the islands? Why were the Jews thought to threaten the social order of the capital? But again and again the boys' talk would drift back to comparisons with present times and conditions. "Why is there more discrimination against Jews in a so-called democracy, such as the United States," one boy wanted to know, "than there was in imperial Germany?" "But Germany even had an anti-semitic party in the Reichstag," the teacher objected. "I know, but my uncle who came from Germany a year ago," continued the boy, "said that he had never heard there of a Jew being refused to buy real estate in a good suburb, or being told that he can't stay at this hotel or that." As there was no further information on this point, this question remained unanswered.

As it happened, it was necessary at the end of the class period to make plans for the next semester. Several members wanted to continue the historical course through the middle ages to modern times. But a majority of the class seemed to feel that they had plenty of Jewish problems of their own time to study without considering those of centuries ago. One of them said, "If this prejudice against us has been going on ever since we have lived as minorities among other peoples, more historical facts will merely pile up more evidence of what we already know. What I would like to find out is the why and the how: Why is it that people have always hated us; and how can we, in our time and circumstances, protect ourselves against their hatred?" That seemed common-sense to all; and after more discussion it was agreed to reverse the process hitherto followed—that is, in the continuation of the course to start from the present-day experience of the Jew in a world dominated by non-Jews, to trace back the historical beginnings of anti-semitism as it makes itself felt now.

The teacher pointed out that this was, after all, only one side of the picture. So it was agreed that the course should include also a study of the Jewish traditions that helped them to survive these animosities and, therefore, might be supposed to contain some clues, at any rate, to the ways in which similar difficulties might be overcome today.

"Well, you have let yourself in for something," said the lawyer, as the two friends left the building. "Wherever will you find a textbook that teaches history backwards? And how will you get at the Jewish traditions that are of value today without getting around you a whole hornets' nest of protests from those whose point of view does not agree with your own?"

"That's just what makes this sort of job so interesting compared with ordinary school teaching," said the other. "You never know exactly what you 'have let yourself in for' until you try to get out of it. I have to work harder for this course than for anything I have tackled in recent years. For one thing, I have to anticipate in my own mind what sort of questions will be likely to be asked, and to have my reference material ready to answer them as best I can—in so far as they are historical or factual. But I shall make use of my friends in this course, next year. I'll let the theological questions pile up and then invite Abramson to answer them. And I'll do the same with you when it comes to legal questions. Of the historical questions I can take care myself. As for the criticism that you anticipate, I hope I am enough of a real liberal not to let it arise: this is no occasion for me to parade my own views on the problems of Jewish survival, though I shall not be afraid to explain them along with those of the other fifty-six varieties of present-day Judaism. Obviously it will be part of my job—if I find the boys do not themselves do it—to explain what the orthodox and the conservatives, the Zionists and anti-Zionists, the Hebrew-culturists and the Yiddishists have to say on the various questions raised."

"So you are going to make this a debate?"

"*Gott bewahre!* We shouldn't get anywhere that way. And I shan't invite spokesmen for the different parties. They would only bewilder the fellows with their eloquence and obfuscations. We shall, from our own knowledge, be able to say what on a given topic the attitude of this or that person or group would be likely to be. And when in doubt we can read passages from their by no means meager literature."

A FRATERNITY GETS EXCITED

The next meeting of the two friends was at a dinner of a local Jewish college fraternity. As it happened, a student of a prominent local Jewish family had been ostentatiously ostracized by non-Jewish fellow-students during the previous week; and this subject monopolized the conversation, both at the table and afterwards in the smoke-room. The party was made up of undergraduates, a few alumni and two or three invited guests. Several recent instances were mentioned in which non-Jewish fraternities had failed to invite the Jewish fraternity to their social affairs. One of the alumni told how a non-Jewish high-school chum with whom he went to college was gradually alienated by fellow students who made him feel that his association with a Jew was something to be ashamed of. One of the guests asked whether the rules of the college concerning the admission of students—which, though in the form of a bid for applications from the West and the South, was felt to have for its purpose the discouragement of Jewish students—did not have the effect of putting a stigma on Jews as Jews in the minds of non-Jewish students.

"Well, what are you going to do about it?" asked the lawyer. "What can we do about it?" said one of the students. "So far as I can see, the only thing to do is to forget about these affronts and keep ourselves more to ourselves; then things of that sort will happen less often."

"I am not so sure," another interjected. "Perhaps we are making matters worse that way. I was not opposed to the forming of this fraternity and joined it, because it seemed to me that our self-respect demanded some such separate organization where we could foster our special Jewish interests. But now that we can and do meet separately as a group, I think we should go out of our way to cultivate, so far as we can, friendly contacts with the rest of the student body. If they treat us as aliens, is it not partly because we are always together as a clique?"

With this view there was almost violent disagreement. One thought that matters had been worse when Jews had not had the facilities for running their own social activities. Another said that the student body merely reflected the feeling in the community, and there was nothing that Jewish students could do about it except help to change public opinion generally. Two members engaged in a heated argument as to whether Jewish students were too aggressive or not aggressive enough—whether they were possessed of an inferiority complex that stamped them as strangers in the eyes of their fellow students, or whether they held aloof in their consciousness of intellectual superiority.

The lawyer here intervened and wondered whether his "young friends" were not altogether too sensitive to alleged insults, and whether they did not, perhaps, make things worse by showing an exaggerated resentment over trifles. "You expect too much of human nature," he told them. "First you deliberately keep yourselves aloof so as not to have your Jewishness submerged, and then you wonder why you are treated as social outsiders. Then you jump up into the air over every little thing as though your life and honor were at stake, and wonder that others find you difficult to get on with. You treat your classmates as morons because they happen to be more informed about the world series than about the latest books, and wonder why they don't like you. You have asked me to speak freely," he wound up as he slipped into his overcoat, "and to recommend what should be done. Well, the first thing, it seems to me, is to acquire a little sense of humor. The attitudes that must be changed are not only those of the other fellows."

Of course, there was strong disagreement, but since the lawyer was looked up to as a person of eminence, he got away with his life. Opposition to his statement also brought out a measure of agreement. This was the clue hoped for by two or three of the older students who had deliberately provoked a discussion of this sort by inviting the lawyer, whose views were well known. One of them now inquired whether one of the things the fraternity might do was not to sort out the different manifestations of anti-Jewish feeling that had been mentioned, and their causes, so that they might at least get a clearer picture of what the difficulty really was. He proposed the appointment of a committee. As this was not a business meeting, the suggestion was informally talked over from different angles; and further facts and opinions were brought out in the now somewhat depleted circle to complicate the picture of the problem. A more critical mood introduced the question of Jewish peculiarities which enabled non-Jews to rationalize their prejudice, whatever its actual source. Peculiarities, it developed, which had never been characteristic of more than a small minority of Jewish students, had nevertheless been fastened upon the reputation of all of them as a "racial" trait. And they were sometimes charged with opposite defects: on the one hand, excessive shyness and reluctance to mix; on the other, loudness and aggressiveness. They had vulgar tastes, said some; others said they were too fastidious. Some accused the Jews of excessive individualism; others of clannishness.

At this point the teacher suggested that, instead of having a committee appointed to make an investigation and report, it might serve the need even better if those who were interested in going further with this type of inquiry would constitute themselves into an informal group. Then, instead of merely trying to answer such definite questions as might be formulated for a fact-finding investigation, they could try to get also at the related facts of Jewish experience that might bear upon them—and not only of Jewish experience but of the relevant sciences. He thought that some of the incidents mentioned that evening and some of the contradictions in the opinions held could be explained with psychological factors not yet generally known. On some of the less understood points it might be possible to call in outside authorities—for example, he thought it might be interesting for the group to interview the dean and try to discover exactly how he interpreted the ruling and the university's attitude toward the enrolment of Jewish students at the present time and in the past. They might also, when they came to that point, invite

Dr. Landauer, the anthropologist, to explain to what extent, if at all, differences in physical structure might explain temperamental differences between Jews and non-Jews.

While some of the students were evidently lukewarm toward the projected discussion as "yet another study of the Jewish problem that will get us nowhere," others showed real enthusiasm; and indeed, the teacher, as a respected older friend of the whole group, was urged at once to take up the leadership of such a self-appointed committee of inquiry.

A DINNER CLUB

The Morris Meyer Club met in an up-town hotel on the first Tuesday of every month; and since the members could afford to treat the menu as a matter of importance, an expansive mood prevailed. Each of the original members was expected to bring a guest, and the conversation was general and informal. On the occasion when the teacher, not a member of the group, was present as the guest of his lawyer friend, the talk centered at first upon a play at a local theater which the day before had been closed by the local police authorities under rather sensational circumstances. Somebody asked whether the chief of police was not known to be an anti-semite, and whether this did not account, in part at least, for his action. "You remember that French farce that Shaughnessy produced at the Tivoli last year? It was much worse, and it ran for nearly four months. But then, these Irish and Italians seem to be able to get away with anything in this town; but the administration makes a big splash with its Puritanism when the producer happens to be called Elkan or Cohen."

"Wait a minute, Charles," a man connected with the insurance business interrupted. "Are the two cases really in the same class? Shaughnessy's play was just a little shade worse than the great mass of revues and comedies that people here are accustomed to; its indecency does not shock anybody—in fact, we are hardly aware of it; plays of that sort are so entirely outside the realm of actual every-day life and its moral codes. But this Elkan play is realistic. The cast talk like real people, the scene is a slice out of any big apartment house in New York—or so it seems. And then, in the midst of their cocktail shakings and light conversation they suddenly break out into confessions of sexual perversion that are not usually discussed outside of Bowery lodging houses or medical schools. The case is totally different, you see. The Jewishness of the producer has nothing to do with it."

"If that is so," asked Magnus, a wholesale druggist, "how do you account for the fact that those prohibition agents are constantly snooping around my place and Adler's, while another fellow down the avenue—I won't mention names—holds up the traffic with all the liquor business he is doing?"

"Well, our police chief has nothing to do with that."

"I know; but do the public authorities, all sorts of public authorities, suspect us more of ill-doing than they suspect other people? And if so, why?"

A number of opinions were expressed on this question. The lawyer thought it was mostly imagination. If they were to keep clippings or went over the police court records, they would find that there was no distinction between Jews, Protestants, and Catholics, in proportion to their numbers—except that since most immigrants were Catholics, they were perhaps slightly more often "in Dutch."

Another had a distinct impression that in handling a case the detective department was more ready to jump at conclusions when one of the suspects was Jewish and the others were not. Several gave testimony of unexceptionably polite treatment by the mayor and various municipal officers and were jokingly asked whether that was just before an election. Hurwitz, a builder, thought that people doing important business, such as his firm, were rarely molested by prejudiced officials; but small fellows in the contracting business had often complained to him of discriminations by building inspectors and other such people, who either expected a larger bribe from Jews than from others or applied the by-laws and zoning ordinances more vigorously to their applications than to others.

"But doesn't everybody?" some one else wanted to know. "The moment I set my foot into Creighton's office (speaking of the leading local throat specialist), his prices go up to the ceiling. I know it, because last summer I met a banker from Laurel (a neighboring small town)—I have forgotten the fellow's name, but he's as genuine a Dutchman as they make them—who had exactly the same operation done for half the money."

That brought out other reminiscences. One man said there was no sense in any Jew throwing away good time and money in competing for subsidiary contracts when the main contract was in the hands of Smith & Thieme; because he wouldn't get it anyhow. An elderly, jovial man, who seemed the sort that is on good terms with everybody, recalled that years ago, when he was still on Fifth Street, he was refused the tenancy of a street floor of a new office building because the owner thought that featuring Fishbein and Morris along the front wouldn't help him any in renting the other floors.

That brought up the question of names. "Well, can you blame him?" asked an intelligent-looking tall man, a dentist. "When I was in Boston, a fellow named Lublinsky wanted to go into partnership with me. He was mighty clever too, and good to look at. 'All right, Lub,' I said. 'But you'll have to change your name. Otherwise there's nothing doing.' He went away in a huff; but I know I was right. A name like that would have killed the business."

"That may be true of foreign-sounding names that people aren't accustomed to and can't pronounce," said another. "But when a Morris or a Cohen changes his name, it is simply because he wants to hide his Jewishness, and the thing isn't quite honest. I am against it; we ought to have more family pride. We had a little unpleasantness some while back when my older daughter, who is interested in social work, was snubbed by a charity board. But she would no more think of changing her name than of adopting new parents. And, of course, she's right. We cannot always protect our children from these nasty incidents, but at least we can help them keep their self-respect."

The lawyer hoped that others might take a more practical view of the matter. After all, one could love and revere one's family without going through life with the handicap of an unsuitable name. Most of them, he guessed, had discarded customs and traditions which their fathers or grandfathers would have considered a great deal more important than their family names. In fact, while he thought of it, most of their names, as they no doubt knew, were not more than three or four generations old, anyhow, and were wished on them, often, by unfriendly governments. It seemed to him that a good dental practice or a great emporium was of more importance to American Jewry than all the Fishbeins and Lublinskys in the telephone directory.

"Yes, if we had only practical matters to consider, you might be right," said an elderly man who had not previously spoken. "But whether reform, conservative, or orthodox, we are all of us concerned to keep Judaism alive and to help it survive during an age of even greater danger than that of the ghetto and its persecutions. If we did not share that concern, we should not be members of this club, for one thing. This thing you are talking about is not a question of individual fortunes. If it were, we could all of us adopt new names, have our noses straightened, where necessary, and let Judaism merely stand for a religious creed—as our Christian friends so often advise us to do. But we know perfectly well, even if at times we like to get out from under that thought, that in so doing we should betray our people. I have been through all those things you have been talking about this evening; and I know how hard it is to come up against those discriminations and insults—sometimes when they are least expected. But we aren't doing so badly with all that; and perhaps we could get some fun out of those incidents if we helped each other more, as we did tonight, to see them in the right light."

"I'm glad to hear you say that, doctor," said the lawyer, now like the rest of the crowd sobered into a more serious frame of mind. "In fact, while I did not know that we were going to talk about this tonight, I had invited our friend Harry Katz over there"—pointing to the teacher—"because I had a vague idea that he might help us to discuss things of that sort more practically than we have done so far on any of these occasions. Mind you, I don't agree on a single thing with him—almost. But I have seen him in action twice when similar questions have been up, and he seems to handle them in such a way, as chairman, that everybody has his say and that at the end, with all sorts of divisions of opinion, nevertheless they have come quite a bit nearer to understanding this whole Jewish-Gentile business. I vaguely thought of proposing on some suitable occasion that we invite Harry to act as chairman at two or three of our meetings—say for an hour or two after dinner—and let us get to the bottom of what the doctor seems to have on his mind. I have been making a note while you were talking; and if I might phrase it, the question seems to be: 'In what ways do the needs of Jewish survival oblige us to put up with all the present inconveniences of being a Jew—or of being known as a Jew?' Or perhaps one might phrase it: 'What can we do to get on better with our non-Jewish fellow-citizens without in any way lessening our loyalty to our own people?' "

In this proposal the club heartily concurred, and so our friend, the teacher, was let in for yet another course of study—though a brief one—which he would have to steer through the shallows of confessed ignorance and the reefs of prejudice and hyper-sensitiveness to the haven of truer understanding.

II. USES OF THE STUDY OUTLINE

For the convenience of those readers who have undergone experiences similar to those recounted in the previous pages and who likewise feel the need for a more consistent and concerted inquiry into the questions raised, the major outline presented in this book (p. 37 *et seq.*) offers a choice of topics set forth in the order of a progressive discourse covering many points of interest and many relevant considerations. But few circles, clubs, classes or informal gatherings will have time enough to go through the whole process sketched by that outline. Indeed, it is desirable that in each case the discussion should start, as it does in our purely fictitious account, from some actual concern that has reality and a degree of urgency for the particular group. Therefore, the major outline is offered for intelligent selection, in most cases, not for complete perusal from first to last. Even with such selection, as the following pages will show, a bit of purposeful inquiry tends to develop into quite a substantial program. Once interest has been aroused, the leader has difficulty in limiting both the subject and the time devoted to discussion.

How would the "Harry Katz" of our story be likely to use this outline (pp. 37-59) and the given reference material in the three discussions which, in our story, he undertook to lead? Perhaps his example will help others who have similar choices to make.

a. FOUR PERIODS OF A HISTORY CLASS

For the first group, the class in Jewish history, which had been meeting at weekly intervals since October, he set aside the last four meetings in March and April to discuss present problems in Jewish-Gentile relations against the background of what had been learned of Jewish history. Since no specific personal experiences had given rise to the desire for such a discussion, but rather the interest in the political and social handicaps of the Jewish people aroused in the class, the leader chose the section on "social life" (A 2, p. 40) as most likely to remind the members of the class of personal observations and experiences.

He asked them to enumerate the types of personal contact with non-Jews that they had had in the course of the previous week. Most of these, as he had anticipated, were of too casual a nature to yield information on attitudes—encounters with storekeepers, with post-office and municipal officials, with janitors and street car conductors, and, of course, with many others. As involving a more intimate mutual relationship, conversations with teachers were listed next. But the contacts most clearly entering into the consciousness of the boys were those with non-Jewish schoolmates and—in the case of some—with non-Jewish fellow-workers in various after-school occupations.

Next the nature of these various forms of relationship was examined (A 2d, p. 43); and they were compared with the same type of contact when with Jews. This gave occasion for a listing of "discriminations" experienced by the members of the class in recreational opportunities—both formal and informal (A 2b, p. 41).

A scrutiny of the list revealed that many of these direct experiences were related to larger situations in which Jews as such were treated differently from non-Jews—such, for example, as residential exclusion from certain neighborhoods (A 1d, p. 39), and from admission to certain educational institutions (A 2a, p. 40).

The enumeration of these difficulties gave rise to the question whether Jews, on their part, ever made similar distinctions and discriminations as regards the persons they desired or did not desire to associate with. This was discussed, first, in relation to different groups or classes within the Jewish community (B 1, p. 46), and then in relation to other ethnic groups in the city (B 2c, p. 49). Thus the first of these meetings ended on a note of thoughtful reconsideration of what many had previously felt sufficiently explained with the reproach of anti-semitism.

The second meeting started from this point with an adaptation of Attitude Test No. 3 (page 292). The teacher asked for a show of hands on question II 2 (p. 293) and others that occurred to him as closer than the rest to the group's personal experience. He listed on the blackboard, in parallel columns, the number of positive and negative answers given in each case, and then singled out for fuller discussion those questions on which there seemed to be the widest discrepancy of views. This led up to brief historical comparisons made possible by previous studies of the class (B 2b, p. 48) and to considerations of actual racial differences (B 2a, p. 48) which, as some believed, might explain some deep-rooted feelings of aversion while others considered them fictitious—in view of the existence of similar feelings between different groups of Jews.

The main conclusion reached (of course, a very different one might be reached on some other, similar occasion by another group of boys) was that other people, both Jews and non-Jews, who had not had the same opportunities for historical studies, were apt to arrive at false conclusions as to the nature of the existing prejudices and their causes. The rest of the period was spent, therefore, in a discussion of ways in which misunderstandings might be dispelled (C 3, p. 52).

The third meeting began with a re-examination of Jewish attitudes, lest the endeavor to find remedies for the benighted Gentile's ignorance and prejudice be too self-righteous. (D 1, p. 54). A careful selection from the first part of Attitude Test No. 2 (page 285), chosen to meet the known interests of the group and to permit a balanced discussion, was distributed on mimeographed sheets, and the answers were listed in parallel columns on the blackboard. A discussion of the differences of opinion thus shown to exist in the class gave rise to an effort to classify the causes of adverse attitudes (D 2a, p. 56), and then to consider what each category seemed to involve as its essential problem (D 2b, p. 57). The last part of the period was used for a preliminary listing, on the part of the class, in a third column—alongside probable (a) *causes* and (b) *major problems*—of corresponding *tasks* for the Jewish community, in so far as it must take its share in the discovery and application of *solutions* (D 2c, p. 57).

The fourth meeting of the class started with these listed general tasks (which now occupied the left side of the blackboard—each symbolized by a single word, of course); and an endeavor was made to agree on major types of activity or changed behavior that might be set next to each task, in a parallel column (E 1 and 3, p. 58). This attempt brought about heated discussion; and each proposal seemed to open up enough new problems of social philosophy (E 2, p. 58) to provide a syllabus for a year's study. In fact, except for a few agreements as to desirable personal behavior in contact with non-Jews (E 3a), the class resolved itself, in the rest of the time at its disposal, into a committee for drawing up a study course (E 4, p. 59) on Jewish ethics (around the elements sketched under E 2, p. 58) for the next year.

b. TWELVE MEETINGS OF A FRATERNITY COMMITTEE

The Jewish fraternity at the local university had agreed to set up a special committee for the study of Jewish-Gentile relations on the campus—with the understanding that any interested member might join it and that, if the desirability for doing so should show itself, the committee might call in outsiders as consultants and even arrange for joint discussion meetings with non-Jewish students. No particular number of meetings was specified for the committee, but it was expected that it would have some recommendations to report before the end of the spring term.

Harry Katz, drafted chairman of the committee, started out by asking members to explain, each according to his understanding, the occasion for these discussions. One began with a harangue that would have done justice to a district attorney. Put up to the judgment of the group, his remarks were ruled out as involving too many assumptions of matters that had been committed to them for inquiry.[1] There were several more false starts, and then the committee settled down to list, without discussion, actual experiences on the campus of individual members, or of the fraternity, or of Jewish students as a group, which seemed to reveal the existence of a strain between Jews and non-Jews (A 2b, c and d, pp. 41 and 42). An examination of these situations showed that it would be rather artificial to separate campus experiences from other experiences, because a relation between them soon became obvious. It was agreed, therefore, to enlarge the scope by the inclusion of other personal experiences of students, or of members of their families and others whom they knew intimately, if off-hand these experiences seemed to bear upon attitudes observable in the college community. (Situations scattered over all of A. p. 37 *et seq.*) It became clear that these situations would have to be classified to some extent before they could be fully understood or acted upon. Therefore the committee spent the latter part of its first session in an effort to bring some sort of order into the chance collection of experiences. In the end it was agreed to appoint three of their number as a sub-committee to produce a classification of Jewish-Gentile contacts in which Jewish students had figured or were clearly involved.

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[1] The predictable "false start" was a premeditated part of the procedure—the purpose being to have the student members of the group recognize for themselves, without having to be told by a leader from the outside, the need for an orderly method of procedure, beginning with a careful comparison of actual experiences.

The next meeting (a week later) began with a report from this sub-committee (following in the main the arrangement of testimony under Part A, p. 37 *et seq.*, of the outline, but omitting some sections and adding others). Some time was spent on questions of fact: Had Jewish students been made unwelcome in certain campus organizations because their help was not desired, or because it seemed to others that they were after prestige rather than opportunities to render service? What proof was there for the alleged existence of discriminatory rules? What efforts had Jewish students actually made to become admitted to certain seemingly exclusive circles? Whose discriminations against Jews were implied in the failure of the college employment service to recommend Jewish students for certain desirable summer occupations—the dean's? the employment secretary's? the prospective employer's? his agent's? Finally, however, a first, tentative chart of the subject-matter for future analysis emerged. Its adequacy was tested by the admission of testimony on the part of several members who had not been present at the first meeting [1] and its arrangement according to the primary classification previously arrived at.

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[1] Incidentally insuring a sense of complete participation on the part of these newcomers.

The third meeting began with a highly philosophical question: To what extent are problems in Gentile-Jewish relations implied in the situations listed and classified, and to what extent are they implied only in our attitude toward these situations? This invited expressions of opinion which showed the range of attitudes represented within the group toward each specific situation mentioned. Taking for their example a case in which news concerning their own fraternity had deliberately been excluded from a college paper edited by a non-Jewish board (in itself an unusual circumstance), two questions were asked which tested both the emotional and the intellectual attitude of the individual members toward the incident: What, do *you* think, was the cause of the incident? What misunderstandings, prejudices or differences in Jewish and non-Jewish interests, do *you* think, were motivating factors? To the first question, the answers varied all the way from "a question purely of editorial expediency"—there did not happen to be room for the item in that issue of the paper—to "a studied insult to a fraternity and a religious group which they detest." The motives adduced as "possible," once the element of "deliberateness" had been accepted as a working assumption for further analysis of the case, ranged from the assertion of a "background of serious economic competition between Jews and non-Jews in the community" to one of "instinctive aversion between the members of two distinct races" (B 2, p. 47). Instead of attempting to come at once to an agreement on this controversial topic, it was agreed, at the next meeting, to go more closely—and with expert assistance—into the psychological factors involved.

At the third meeting, a Jewish member of the faculty was present who, though a teacher of anthropology, was known to be familiar with the literature of social psychology. The leader began with an attitude test (Word Reaction Test, page 283). It was found that out of a list of thirty words submitted only five elicited a uniformly favorable or unfavorable response, while on ten feeling was almost equally divided between those registering pleasant and unpleasant associations. Those ten words were subjected to further examination. It was found that not only sense associations in memory but also sound and sight produce distinctly pleasurable reactions or the reverse. (The "music" of the name Maimonides was mentioned by one student who confessed himself unacquainted with its meaning; the "ugly looks" of the word Ashkenazim by another student who admitted having suffered much at school for bad spelling.) But for the most part the differences in response were found to be due to different backgrounds of knowledge, family status, nationality, religious or political affiliation and personal experience. Thus to a Zionist the name Balfour had pleasant associations; a communist identified it with Toryism. Reform was agreeable for those who recognized it as the slogan of their own branch of the Jewish community and also for those who, without making that association, thought of it as meaning social advance. It was a red rag for the Orthodox among those present.

Further discussion revealed a desire to inquire also into the actual differences between the "total areas" of Jewish and Gentile group experience in so far as they might throw light on their respective social attitudes.

The fourth meeting of the committee, in consequence, opened with a paper prepared by the anthropologist in which he endeavored to show how actual differences in historical developments and climatic influences undergone for long periods of time had contributed toward the biological differentiation of the Jews from other racial groups in Europe and the Near East (B 2a, p. 48). In answer to questions, he further developed how small initial differences in character traits between Jews and non-Jews—especially in the countries facing on the Mediterranean Sea—may, by political and economic accentuation, have in the course of time developed much deeper differences (B 2b, c, d, pp. 48-49).

Other examples from national and religious group relations were brought into the picture. And without any effort on the part of the anthropologist—who merely desired to act as exponent of data and theories—to lead to such a conclusion, agreement was reached toward the end of the session to the effect that "if influences under human control have widened the actual differences—physical, mental and temperamental—between Jews and non-Jews, then purposeful human engineering can again lessen them and produce a new adjustment."

Plans for such engineering of inter-group adjustment formed the subject matter for the fifth meeting of the committee. But at this point a new difficulty was introduced by two students—one of them an ardent Zionist, the other a member of the Orthodox synagogue—when they asked whether and why Jews should desire to bridge their separation from non-Jews. If "social engineering" was to be discussed, they thought, the only kind a Jewish group could well be interested in would be one addressed to the survival of Israel in an age that tended to assimilate all ethnic and religious differences.

The question before the group was thus given a new direction, and the whole session was spent in a discussion of: (a) what, exactly, is implied in Jewish "Survival," and (b) within what limits can group survival—and what it implies in attitudes, policies and programs—be assumed to be the main motive for such a group as their own fraternity? (C 1, 2, p. 50.) As different fundamental convictions were involved, it was decided to devote the next meeting of the group to a symposium by outstanding representatives of different branches of Judaism on these two questions.

The sixth meeting of the committee—enlarged for the occasion into a meeting for all members of the fraternity and invited guests—took the form of a forum, with set addresses by representatives of Orthodox and Reform Jewry, of official Zionism, and the "scientific point of view," followed by questions and discussion. As representatives of Conservative Jewry (as distinct from Orthodox) and of Jewish Labor were not available, the chairman only briefly referred to the well-known attitudes of these groups as worth keeping in mind.

After this oratory, which helped to understand "positions" rather than their possible integration,[1] the seventh session of the committee began with a reminder of the practical task to which it had been set. Not having resolved the fundamental problems raised at the previous group session, nevertheless the members felt, after the symposium, that there was enough unity in Jewish attitudes and purposes to permit at least a tentative grappling with some of the more obvious problems of Jewish-Gentile relations—specifically as experienced by college students. The next question to be tackled, therefore, was, how might misunderstanding which leads to unnecessary suspicion or antagonism, best be removed—and not only misunderstanding *of* Jews but also misunderstanding *by* Jews? (C 3, 4, pp. 51-54.) The leader here used the blackboard to record, with a single word or short phrase, each of the suggestions made, and then asked the group to range each suggestion agreed upon as desirable in some circumstances under the three categories of (a) individual action,

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[1] It is wise sometimes, when a desire for "authoritative" statements makes itself felt, to permit such an interlude as the one described even though the leader may be doubtful whether it will contribute as much clarifying interpretation as would be gained by an additional period of group discussion.

(b) social action generally, and (c) action by this fraternity. In that way, the seventh meeting ended with a sense of some accomplishment—however far as yet from the goal ambitiously set for the group.

This rather casual initial program was subjected, in the interval between two meetings, to an editorial process by an elected committee of three and emerged at the eighth meeting of the committee in the form of a mimeographed interim report, which was formally moved for adoption. In discussion of this program, it soon developed that many members felt in need of additional information before they could subscribe to it with complete assurance. Each of the suggestions assumed that a certain type of action or behavior would produce specific reactions on the part of non-Jews. But could they count on this effect? Could they with sufficient assurance imagine themselves in the position of the "other party"? It was evident, a study of Jewish attitudes in situations where they occupied the position of the dominant group was desirable if errors of judgment were to be avoided (D 1, p. 54). Nevertheless, the question remained, whether non-Jewish attitudes and points of view which must enter into any "solutions" had been adequately and correctly analysed. It was decided, therefore, to invite for a joint session a group of non-Jews favorably inclined toward Jewish-Gentile approaches.

The ninth meeting of the committee was held jointly with a study group from the university Y.M.C.A., which had been studying the relations between Protestants and Catholics in America[1] and was preparing to make a similar study of Gentile-Jewish relations. Ostensibly, the tentative program of the fraternity committee was the subject for joint deliberation with the purpose of further clarifying (a) the types of problem that must receive separate consideration, (b) the types of task involved in each, and (c) the extent to which Jewish students as individuals and a Jewish fraternity must assume these tasks, and to what extent Christian groups must be counted upon to work for better understanding from their side (D 2, p. 55). In the discussion it developed that a further distinction would be useful, between (a) activities and types of behavior that are primarily directed at the avoidance of contacts likely to produce friction, (b) those designed to bring about contacts likely to produce mutual appreciation and helpfulness, and (c) long-range programs of education with the aim of modifying attitudes. Under each of these headings some simple activities were listed that could easily be agreed upon. It was frankly admitted, however, at the leader's urging, that owing to the nature of the meeting and the obligations imposed by the situation upon both hosts and guests, some moot questions had barely been touched upon, and solutions which might figure as important in the minds of individuals had perhaps not been advanced through fear of giving offence.

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[1] With the aid of the Inquiry study outline, *The Fairfield Experiment.*

The tenth meeting of the fraternity group, therefore, took the form of a re-examination, in the light of these later considerations, of conclusions previously arrived at. It was felt that the proposed remedies might now be re-classified for closer inspection according to the degree in which each commended itself as practical *for them* to undertake or to recommend to their fraternity. The meeting opened with the question: In what ways have we changed our minds since the first preliminary program was formulated? (E 1, p. 58.) From this it proceeded to ask: What are the larger perspectives that we must constantly keep before us—in view, more particularly, of the remaining division of opinion on the degree to which the survival of Judaism belongs among our major purposes—or perhaps is our major purpose? (E 2, p. 58.) To what extent are the larger loyalties of the Jewish man toward his own race and toward humanity in conflict, and to what extent do they overlap?

The session had to be closed long before these great themes had been exhausted. But, at the suggestion of the leader, it was agreed once more to attempt such an integration at the next meeting, this time with the aid of an outstanding Jewish philosopher. The eleventh meeting, consequently, started with an unhurried survey of the same questions, now logically arranged, as best they could, for the philosopher's inspection. This is not the place to report the great man's theories or how they were received, except to say that he held out hopes for the re-integration of the distinctive aspirations that have all been Jewish in different times and places through a re-discovery of the essentially Messianic outlook upon life. The inner unity of Israel, he—a modern of moderns—held, lay in a centrifugal, expansive process of development, paradoxical as that might seem. "The ideals of human progress and of national patriotism are exclusive of each other and antagonistic to that of Jewish survival only when all three are misconceived." The practical problem was to find that mode of working for any one of these three loyalties that would include the others. "No Jew can be a good American unless he sees America's mission as that of an unselfish embodiment of Biblical humanitarianism. Nor can he work successfully for peace and justice between the nations unless he faithfully works for them as a citizen of his own nation. And he cannot advance the Messianic mission of Judaism except to the degree to which he helps to permeate the world with the traditional Jewish outlook on life." "Israel cannot save itself," he ended, "except by saving all mankind."

The last meeting of the group had for its object the discussion of a plan for action—re-edited, on the basis of all that had gone before, by a small sub-committee and offered for final adoption (E 3, p. 58).

THREE SESSIONS OF A DINNER CLUB

Compared with the tension of the fraternity committee's studies and the need they entailed for preparation, Harry found his chairmanship at the three scheduled dinner sessions of the Morris Meyer Club of business men pure recreation. At the first of these meetings he invited common thought on the kinds of misunderstanding, fear, prejudice, or other hurtful attitudes displayed in the various incidents of discrimination experienced by those present in their business and professional relationships (A 1 b, c, p. 39). The questions asked, in almost every case, were: "*What* Jews suffer these discriminations on the part of *what* Christians? In what special circumstances? In what surrounding areas of other mutual relations?" It was soon found, through this kind of analysis, that not all Jews are exposed to the same practices, or any Jew all the time. The decisive factors in the situation (B, p. 46 *et seq.*) were recognized to be non-racial and non-religious, though misunderstandings of both the racial and the religious element were found often to enter in. Before they broke up, the diners had, some of them reluctantly, acknowledged that if positions were reversed in some of these situations—including also the change of backgrounds implied in such reversal—they might have acted as the other party did.

At the second dinner, off-hand suggestions were invited for dealing with the difficulties complained of—or at least with those that seemed relatively simple. Among a variety of proposals, the leader chose for further examination several that were directed at the correction of misunderstanding of the Jewish people (C 3, p. 51). For here were practical things that practical men might tackle with mutual encouragement. But even within this more limited range, the choice of suggestions and the diversity of opinion were too large to permit of an easy assumption of agreement. Instead, the question previously raised (see page 13) was brought up again, whether Jews might not avoid most of this unpleasantness through a more rapid assimilation. The leader drew attention to the fact that, seemingly, the forms of assimilation recommended by those who held this view always applied to some one else; that they regarded themselves as already assimilated enough to the American environment. This provoked a question as to the extent to which Jewish business men of a more educated and sophisticated type could properly prescribe for Orthodox eastern Jews how they should deport themselves in America and what old customs, which for them had religious sanction, they should cut out (C 1, p. 50). In the end it was agreed that the mutual adjustment of attitudes between Jews and non-Jews would require something more than a pruning away of misjudgments or of outdated custom; that what was needed was a new national and international outlook which would be tolerant of diversity (E 2, p. 58).

The third dinner conversation, therefore, started with an inquiry into the extent to which those present—before they could well invite an introspective reconsideration of attitudes on the part of others—were willing to revise their own attitudes. For example, what would they, as Jewish business men, consider the basis for a code of ethics that must embody the kinds of behavior and mutual relationship that corresponded to their motives as American citizens, as Jews, and as men of the world. To show how far they were as yet from such integration of purposes, the leader, more or less jokingly, introduced an attitude test (No. 3 Personal Relations, questions I, 2, 3, 5, pp. 292-293; II, 1, 2, p. 293; III, 1, 3, p. 295; IV, 1, p. 296). The result showed disagreement among those in the room on almost every point at issue. Without departing from the bantering tone of the occasion, he then asked the men why, in view of these differences, they nevertheless all called themselves Jews. What was it that they thought they had in common? These questions, when the inevitable jokes about the recognition of Jews by fellow Jews had been disposed of, produced some telling definitions—and confessions too.

As the evening proceeded, the mood deepened, and it was finally agreed that it could not be from purely sentimental attachments to the memory of parents and grandparents, or from mere failure to escape the stigma of Jewishness, that so many of them—in fact the vast majority of American Jews—had never seriously entertained the idea of denying their Jewish upbringing or of being deaf to the claims made upon them by the less fortunate of their own people. Underlying their skepticism, as one or two summarized the discussion at the end of the evening, even those of them who attached least importance to religious institutions and ceremonies, felt the continuity, toward them from the dim past and through them into the dim future, of an essentially Jewish faith. This faith, some one added, was not the superstition of an ancient shepherd people but, in some way which no one could account for, more truly spiritual than some of the religious creeds formulated at a much later date and by much more civilized peoples.

Coming back, late in the evening, to the question of Jewish-Gentile relations which they had undertaken to thrash out with a view to practical action, one of the club members suggested that, if he might judge from the trend which their discussion had taken that evening, what they would do with the other fellow now seemed much less important than what they would do with themselves to make American Jews more loved and respected among their fellow citizens. He thought that would be worth considerably more study (E 4, p. 59). It was agreed by those who remained at a late hour that the club might well set aside a series of evenings next winter for an enlargement of their present topic, for a study, that is, of the demands of Jewish ethics in the modern world. What happened a few months later, was the arrangement by the program committee of a short series of dinner discussions on the Ethical Problems of the Jewish Business Man.

PRINCIPLES OF CHOICE

It will be obvious to the reader who has followed us so far that the samples here given of possible discussional uses of the present outline are merely indications of the wide variety of choice.[1] It is clear that the fraternity committee would still have got a good deal out of this course of study even if it could not have been able to devote twelve meetings to it, and that the group of business men could very profitably have increased both the scope and the thoroughness of their discussions if they had given more time to them. Similarly, the class at the Y.M.H.A. could profitably have spent the whole winter over the questions considered and not merely the fag end of the season. Thus every occasion for study invites a fresh choice of questions and materials; it provides its own reasons for deciding on the length of the course and the amount of time to be given to its various parts. Nevertheless, certain clear principles must underlie these choices—principles related to

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[1] For applications of the procedure to the needs of other specific types of groups, the reader is referred to many discussions in *The Jewish Center* (organ of the Jewish Welfare Board). In Appendix A to the present volume, samples are given of the way in which Miss Emily Solis-Cohen, of the Jewish Welfare Board, has adapted parts of the first section of our outline for women's discussion groups without trained leadership.

a. the background and interests of the group,
b. the time at the disposal of the group,
c. the relative immediacy of the problem that they have come together to study or to do something about.

a. *Background and Interest.* No matter how long or how short the course, it is possible so to choose the material as to make the discussion of it a complete experience, starting from the original concern of the group and the facts of its own observation, and, through recognizable stages of relevant considerations, arriving at satisfying conclusions.

The character and interests of the group must influence, if not determine, the construction of the course. For example, a mature group is more likely to sense the complexity of the problem than a group of very young people; it will therefore be more disposed to study related matters, to compare different opinions from respected sources, and the like. On the other hand, unfortunately, those of school age are more accustomed to having spread before them facts and questions the relevancy of which to anything real in their young lives they cannot see. And in some cases there may be more difficulty in persuading an older group—by emphasis on the requisite parts of the outline—that it is useless merely to postulate changes in behavior without first taking note of requisite changes in attitude (D, p. 54, *et seq.*).

b. *The Time Element.* Every additional hour given to a study project of this kind improves its value. For example, if six or fewer meetings are held in all, only one of them can profitably be devoted to a presentation of the facts and situations (A, p. 37, *et seq.*) that are subsequently to be analysed. If more, two sessions may be given to this expository stage, permitting a considerable broadening of the base of information. In the one case, it will be impossible, as a rule, to admit factual data other than from personal experience of the members; in the other, valuable facts may be adduced from literary sources—including not only observations on less common experiences but also every-day experiences that happen to be outside the particular group's field of vision, statistics covering large numbers and the findings of scientific research.

Sections B (p. 46) and C (p. 50) should be used to clear up those situations which in the factual discussions have most caught fire with the group. That is, if only two or three sessions are available for that purpose, obviously only some few of the factors found to be present can be diagnosed; the psychological analysis cannot be carried very far; and proposals for salutary activities or for changes of behavior can only be listed but not fully discussed.

c. *Relative Immediacy.* Not only the background and interests of the group and the time at its disposal, but also the relative immediacy of the problem which it has met to discuss must influence the choice of questions and material. In our three examples, the first came up to the subject matter of this outline in the course of a plan of study scheduled a long time in advance as part of the work of an educational institution. Therefore, a purely educational point of view must prevail in this case. The second group, the fraternity committee, had been appointed for an immediate object and, throughout, was conscious of the necessity of rendering a report at the end of its deliberations. Here the discussion clearly was headed toward the formulation of a program of policies and actions; and no merely "interesting" or generally "worth-while" subject matter could be allowed to obtrude itself into that procedure. The third group had scheduled three meetings as a result of an interest ranging from a mild conversational talking point on the part of some members to a serious concern on the part of others. Here the purpose of the more interested members to make their friends see the importance of the matter, and a desire on the part of all—though not an urge—to do something about it on some appropriate occasion, are the leading motives in the choice.

Normally, then, in the listing of proposals for remedial action (C, p. 50), all types of suggestions should be admitted as relevant, but the group should at once proceed to distinguish between those that—if found desirable—might be immediately applicable and those that are of a more philosophical nature or require educational efforts at long range. They will probably find that the most passionate appeals usually are for immediate measures (the appeals of the "God-sakers," as H. G. Wells calls them—those who implore us to do something at once, for God's sake); they should be on their guard, therefore, lest concrete proposals emphatically urged upon them will be related to too specific a need and will not satisfy for long.

It will be seen, then, from these considerations that the demand of some of our friends for an exact scheduling of the number of periods and choice of materials for each type of discussional study would have impaired the value and falsified the purpose of this enterprise: Where early action on some matter is required, it may be necessary to omit all discussion of related matters until a decision has been reached. Where action can be deferred, some consideration of related matters will not only be possible but will be likely to enhance the soundness of the decisions reached. The longer the series of consideration—the deeper the draughts on Jewish history; on the inspired writings of Jewish sages and scholars, and on the wide range of relevant information—the more confident will be the conclusions eventually reached. At the same time, too many studies of Jewish problems in the modern world are of an academic nature, with little influence on the exigencies of every-day life. A brief course of discussional study for immediate, opportunist ends is not to be despised if in that way practically minded people may be given also a glimpse of the values inherent in a more thorough treatment of the matter. The solutions for problems, thus quickly reached, will then be recognized as mere compromises to gain time for a deeper probing.

Lest critics of the educational procedure sketched in these pages fear that in its pre-occupation with the outward circumstances of Jewish life in America the religious element of the Jewish way of life be relegated to the background, we have endeavored to show in each of the three illustrations how a systematic procedure of the kind proposed will almost inevitably lead to a serious consideration of spiritual values. The advantage of this method is that religious and philosophical thinking here emerges as part of an experience which helps every individual to feel the need for it. Instead of starting with the Bible or with stories from the Midrash or Talmudic interpretations and endeavoring to apply them to present-day problems amid the lukewarm interest of a class, the discussional pathway here charted almost forces the attention upon the great treasury of historical Jewish experience; and these stories and interpretations will be accepted not as arbitrary selections to fill in a scheduled hour but as the highest type of evidence, presented and reverently listened to at the point where it helps to clear up actual doubts, where it concentrates thought on the stakes of Judaism that do not die or change with the passing generations.

PART I

OUTLINE FOR STUDY AND DISCUSSION [1]

A. Testimony from Experience.

What experiences have members of the group had which bear on the relations between Jews and non-Jews in American life?

In what relationships of life do these experiences belong? [2]

1. IN ECONOMIC AND PROFESSIONAL LIFE.

a. AS WAGE-EARNERS.[3]

Give examples of any difficulties which members have had in securing jobs due to

Discriminatory advertisements?

Unwillingness of agents to send a person of Jewish appearance or with a Jewish name?

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[1] See Part IV, p. 221, for detailed suggestions for discussion leaders.

[2] The classification of possible experiences which follows is obviously too inclusive for any one group of people and, at the same time, may omit other types of experience of concern to them. Hence the need for a listing of their own experiences by the group and an effort to classify them, or at least a careful selection from the suggestions given in Section A with the addition of types of experience not listed.

[3] Some discussion groups may prefer to start with a consideration of behavior problems rather than difficulties experienced. If so, they will find appropriate suggestions for questions in the supplementary outline, p. 301, under A. 1a. *How do you search for a position?*

Refusal of employers to hire Jews?

Refusal of persons in authority on behalf of an employer?

What were some of the reasons given for refusal to employ?

(Did the form of the refusal camouflage what seemed clearly an anti-Jewish intent?)

What were some of the attitudes displayed when the refusal was made?

What effort, if any, was there to explain the matter? Was the refusal couched in polite words?

Was there an attempt to shift the blame? Was there seeming embarrassment? A display of self-righteousness? of bitterness? of a desire to be helpful in spite of the refusal?

What kinds of difficulty have been found in holding jobs

Or in maintaining friendly relations with superiors and fellow workers through its becoming known, some time subsequent to his receiving the job, that the worker is a Jew?

What difficulties in securing fair treatment

In terms of employment—wages, hours, working conditions, opportunities to learn the business or trade, places or tools assigned, holidays, vacations, or any other condition?

In promotion—to better paid work, to positions of higher prestige, to more agreeable work, to more responsible work, to direct contact with customers, to positions affording a better insight into the processes of the business?

b. IN BUSINESS.

What difficulties have members experienced, because of their Jewishness, in sharing opportunities with non-Jews on equal terms of competition,

In such matters as consular facilities, access to market information, personal access to heads of concerns, admission to contract work, amenities between competitors, "inside information" of trade, shipping facilities, credits?

c. IN THE PROFESSIONS.

What forms of discrimination have been experienced, because of Jewishness, in the life of Teachers, Doctors, Lawyers, Ministers, Nurses, Social Workers, Architects,

As to appointments, consultations, terms of competition, facilities and treatment in courts (for lawyers), facilities as to training, practice, access to clients, access to helpful information and services, "inside information," customary recommendations, or the like?

Distinguish between experiences in connection with secular, private, and public institutions; classes of clients catered to; grades in the case of schools; and the like.

d. AS CONSUMERS.

What difficulties have been experienced because of Jewish name or appearance,[1]

In securing merchandise, services, premises (for sale or rent), travel facilities, restaurant or hotel accommodation, favorite locations in theaters or other places of amusement?

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[1] The question of names will be further discussed under C. 4., page 53.

Have there been experiences of discrimination in prices or fees charged Jews for goods, services, accommodations?

e. Add any other experiences of discrimination in economic life, not covered by the previous questions, that members of the group have felt.

2. IN SOCIAL LIFE.

a. AS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES.

What instances or situations are there in which members of the group have been excluded, as it would seem, on racial or religious grounds, from educational institutions or classes?

Distinguish between public, semi-public, secular, and private institutions, between their different purposes and the age groups and grades involved and take note of the form of exclusion, the reason given for it and the types affected. (All Jews as such, all "foreigners," only persons with such Jewish names as Levy or Cohen, only Jews of a specific class of society, or of a recognizable type of behavior, language, or appearance?)

Distinguish total exclusion from quota rulings. In both cases, note the *manner of exclusion* and the attitudes displayed. (Formality, politeness, desire to explain, attempt to shift blame, seeming embarrassment, legalism, desire to be helpful in spite of refusal, etc.)

What difficulties have there been, after admission, in securing equal access with non-Jews to all opportunities and facilities of education or training?

Note any discriminations experienced in seating, in assignments, in grading, in examinations, in personal treatment by teachers or officials, in practice teaching, laboratory facilities, access to teachers or officers, fees charged, opportunities of tuition, supervision and rulings, etc.

Note also any artificial distinction between compulsory and voluntary, or formal and informal, parts of the procedure with discrimination in admission to the voluntary or informal parts (such as formation of study clubs, substitutions of voluntary activities for class attendance, seminars and assignments for them, etc.).

b. AS TO RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES.

What discriminations have been experienced in admission to

Commercial amusement resorts,

Fraternities, clubs and institutions with a primarily recreational program,

Athletic associations or (in the case of Jewish teams) leagues and individual contests?

What discriminations, attributed to dislike of Jews, have been experienced in informal personal relations

On the college campus, in business or trade, in neighborhood and community associations?

In social relationships involving, or apt to lead to, intimacy between persons of opposite sex—such as dances, outdoor parties, home visits as between colleagues, introductions to members of family, and the like?

Note, again, both the form of exclusions experienced and the nature of the social limitations set. (For example, attendance at a ball may be taken for granted; yet there may be resentment at being asked for a dance by a Jew.)

Note also exactly what groups or types are excluded (whether all who do not belong to a given set; all who are regarded as "foreigners"; all who by name or appearance are distinct as "different" from the prevailing type; only those who by their dress, manners, behavior or renown are adjudged as belonging to a different class; or only those who, by keeping themselves apart and together in a distinct set, have given the impression of regarding themselves as a separate group).

C. AS TO OPPORTUNITIES OF SERVICE.

What handicaps have been experienced in civic and social cooperation through organized agencies and movements?

Distinguish between the exclusion of individuals and that of organized groups from participation in community activities for the social welfare; between complete exclusion and exclusion from such kinds of participation as would ensure control, prestige or other benefits (or involve social intimacy); between professed and apparent causes of exclusion (as in the nature of the enterprise, arbitrary, due to origin of organization or the major type of its membership, preferences of individual officers, and the like).

What social services which individual Jews or Jewish organizations are willing to render, either to their own group or to the whole community, have been prevented or rendered more difficult by anti-Jewish opposition?

Are such discriminations apparent against all Jews, against some Jews, against some groups of which Jews either are or are supposed to be part (i.e., non-Protestant groups, "foreigners," "recent comers," "bolshevists," or the like)?

Distinguish between organizations and activities that form part of an established pattern of generally accepted social services and those that introduce new viewpoints or objectives; between those that come close to cherished group interests (such as those of religion, nationality, class) and those that are neutral in these regards; between inconspicuous activities and those involving much publicity; between those in which interdenominational and interracial cooperation is traditional and those where it is not, etc.

What discrimination have Jewish social organizations, or those in which Jews are prominent, experienced in outside cooperation?

E.g., in that of the public authorities, of the courts, the press, schools, business associations, professional organizations, other social agencies, the public at large?

d. AS TO PERSONAL INTERCOURSE.

What are your continuous social contacts with non-Jews?

E.g., with fellow students (present or former), professional or business colleagues, neighbors? Do you visit them? Do they visit you? What, if any, is the difference between these contacts and those you have with Jewish friends and acquaintances?

What experiences have you had with non-Jewish fellow members

In fraternal organizations, luncheon clubs, directorates of civic, philanthropic and educational movements, and the like?

What have been your experiences in dealings with non-Jewish officials?

Such as school boards, school principals, policemen, officers of courts, customs officers, army and navy officers, service bureaus of federal, state and local authorities? Also employes of public service corporations—such as street car conductors, gas inspectors, railroad employes?

What have been your experiences in other chance contacts with non-Jews?

Such as shopkeepers, fellow travellers, servants, doctors, nurses, garage men, office employes, ticket officers, ushers?

In descriptions of such experiences as those listed in the last two sections distinguish, again, between different kinds of attitude of a discriminatory character shown (ranging all the way from an oily politeness to rudeness); between the treatment received by persons of distinctive Jewishness, of all known to be Jews, of certain types of Jews, of Jews among others regarded as "outsiders" by members of a given class or set.

3. IN POLITICAL LIFE.[1]

a. AS CITIZENS.[2]

Have special difficulties been experienced in being admitted to the United States because of Jewish religion, race or nationality? *In being admitted to the franchise by naturalization courts?*

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[1] It may be worth while, in order to avoid the appearance of an exaggerated sense of injustices suffered, to bring out thus early in the proceedings—and from the experience of members of the group or of their families, if possible—the difference between political "handicaps" experienced by Jews in the United States and the official discriminations imposed by law in some of the countries of Eastern Europe.

[2] For alternative suggestions, see Appendix, p. 303.

Are Jews as Jews finding difficulty in getting on the register as voters? If so, where exactly do these difficulties occur? What are the circumstances?

In what ways are Jews handicapped, in your experience, in the conduct of political contests?

Are they invited, in proportion to their number, to serve as election officers? To serve on party committees? Does the press treat them fairly?

What difficulties are experienced in the administration of laws in securing justice?

Do Jews find themselves discriminated against by licensing authorities? In civil service and other public appointments? In the application of building regulations, the enforcement of local ordinances and by-laws? In the courts?

b. AS OFFICE HOLDERS.

What difficulty have Jews had in securing election because of their race or religion?

What are some of the difficulties experienced in political life?

What handicaps do Jewish public officers experience in their contact with superiors, inferiors, the press, the public?

4. IN RELIGIOUS LIFE.[1]

a. AS REGARDS OBSERVANCE OF RELIGIOUS PRECEPTS.

What handicaps are suffered by Jews through the observance of Jewish religious precepts or through Christian attitudes toward them in such matters as

Holidays,

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[1] For alternative suggestions, see Appendix, A, p. 305.

The Sabbath,

Dietary rules,

Personal appearance (sheitel, beard, hat, etc.),

Other items of Jewish régime?

b. AS REGARDS FREEDOM OF WORSHIP AND RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

What difficulties are experienced by Jews in their relation with non-Jews in practicing and handing on their religious faith?—in such matters as

Holding of Jewish services (in the army?),

Leasing of cemetery plots, erection of synagogues or renting of premises,

Assembly licenses and teaching licenses,

Admission of Jewish teachers to schools, prisons or other institutions?

c. AS REGARDS RECOGNITION OF A DISTINCTIVE JEWISH POINT OF VIEW.

What are some of the experiences of Jewish-Gentile conflict in differences of attitude toward

Intermarriage,

The conduct of institutions,

Education,

Participation in general religious and ethical movements?

B. Special Factors in the Situation.

1. INTRA-GROUP DIFFERENCES.

What differences in social status, in social affiliation, in cultural, national, political, economic, linguistic background explain the diversity of experiences by different members of the group (or by the group as compared with experiences described by other Jews in the reference material)?[1]

To what extent do these personal and group differences within American Jewry directly affect the experiences of antagonism or special difficulty, and to what extent do they affect these experiences indirectly by their influence upon the attitudes of those undergoing them?

For example, would a man named Cohen and with strongly marked Slavic-Jewish features be apt to encounter discrimination where a fellow-Jew named Fisher and of more Teutonic cast would not do so? Is this distinction observable only where the second person's Jewishness is concealed or also where it is well known?

Would a recent immigrant from a typical Jewish community in Rumania encounter only the same handicaps as any other immigrant because of language difficulties and lack of information; or would his specific Jewish ways be apt to lead him into further situations of difficulty or conflict? If so, what have his own Rumanian-Jewish attitudes to do with the occurrence of these situations?

2. INTER-GROUP DIFFERENCES.

What differences in racial character, group history or present conditions help to explain conflicts of attitude, motivation and interest as between Jews and non-Jews in the situations examined?

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[1] At this point it may be worth while to introduce one or more of the tests of Jewish attitudes suggested in Part V. to bring out more clearly those differences of reaction to situations which discussion up to this point has only broadly indicated as existing within the group itself. The word reaction test, page 283, is particularly suitable for this purpose.

a. *To what extent are racial differences in the biological sense involved?*

Would a neighborhood tiff between Jews and Christians be affected by the nationality of the non-Jewish neighbors? (Say, if some are of British, others of Russian descent?) What difference does it make whether German or Russian Jews are involved?

Which of the situations described would be likely to occur not only between Jews and non-Jews but also between Jewish groups of different antecedents—as, for example, where a German-Jewish money aristocracy is in contact with newly immigrant Eastern Jews? Which of them would be likely to take a similar course if the group or individual experiencing difficulty, instead of being Jewish, belonged to some other nationality or race—say, Japanese, Armenian, Czecho-Slovak?

What difference would the substitution of one group for another, on either side, make in these situations?

b. *What is the part played by Jewish history in these relationships?*

Mention some aspects of Jewish history which seem to have a direct bearing upon relations between Jews and non-Jews in the United States.

What historical events or circumstances seem to explain the different attitudes toward Jews of, say, Germans, Russians, Hungarians, Arabs, Chinese, Mexicans?

c. *What differences in their respective economic, cultural or political status show their influence in the relations between Jews and different national and racial groups in the United States?*

What is the part played by length of settlement in this country? By the predominant occupations of the members of different national groups? By their relative prosperity? By their number and political influence?

What bearing do differences in these respects have upon the nature of the contacts which these various national or other minorities in America have with Jews?

Mention some examples of Jewish-Christian group contacts in which biological traits, previous history of mutual contact and the nature of present group status seem to play distinctive parts.

d. *What are some of the indirect effects of disharmonious relations between Jews and any specific group in the community?*

How is the behavior of the rest of the community toward Jews, or their attitude toward them, affected by the presence in it of some group (small or large, influential or non-influential) which, because of pronounced differences in racial temperament, or because of a history of antagonism, or because of the circumstances of its specific present contacts with Jews, is hostile toward them?

How is the behavior of Jews and their attitude toward their fellow-citizens at large influenced by the existence of unpleasant group contacts with some one national group in the community? (For example, a Polish group?)

C. Conflicting Policies and Programs.

In view of the partial explanations of Jewish difficulties in American life, which the previous section seeks from differences in religion, in racial character, in history and in present situations, what can Jews contribute toward the elimination of causes of misunderstanding and maladjustment in any of these respects?

1. RELIGION.

Within what limits is any group in the community justified in setting up, on the basis of its distinctive religious beliefs, a separate code of group and individual behavior in inter-group relations?

To what extent is it possible to maintain such a code unchanged in a world of constant change?

E.g., is it possible to agree on some fundamentals of Jewish social ethics which can be maintained under all conditions and list others which it is more difficult to maintain in some situations? What shall we do about these difficulties?

In what historical situations, and to what degree, have Jewish ethical concepts, sanctioned by the Jewish faith, undergone change?

2. RACIAL CHARACTER.

In what ways, if any, is it practicable for Jews, without hazarding their religious and cultural heritage, to take steps that would "assimilate" them physically and mentally to an incipient American racial type?

What would such a process of assimilation involve in

a. RACE MIXTURE through inter-marriage?

Do all forms of intermarriage involve the same advantages and disadvantages, or are intermarriages with members of some national or religious groups, or on certain levels of social status, less likely than others to lead to loss of Jewishness? Should intermarriage be encouraged when the Jewish upbringing of children is safeguarded by pre-nuptial agreements?

b. ACCULTURATION.

What are the gains and losses likely to occur where Jews assimilate their racial character to that of non-Jews by such environmental and educational influences as may be practicable?

What choices in occupations might have this effect? What choices in living conditions? In recreations? In education? What relation do such choices have to the chances of religious or racial group survival?

(If racial assimilation by intermarriage is declared undesirable, would it be equally undesirable for Jews to change their physical and mental make-up by such deliberate changes in environmental conditions as those named? Do Jews, in fact, remain physically and mentally unchanged as a racial group when there is little or no intermarriage with non-Jews?)

How would Jews like it if non-Jews were, in a large measure, to adopt their own distinguishing customs—as regards diet, observation of the Sabbath, etc.—and acquire their own cultural characteristics?

3. HISTORY AND TRADITION.

Is there need for Jews to correct their own understanding, or that of others, of the history of the Jewish people and their relation with non-Jews?

What influences toward the elimination of mischief-making traditions may usefully be exerted upon history teaching? Upon the teaching of literature? Upon religious teaching? Upon symbolical and interpretive art?

Consider *possible methods* of

Public protest,

Censorship,

Corrective literature,

"Influence" in quarters where it counts (such as boards of education),

Formation of Jewish-Gentile study groups,

"Goodwill" meetings held jointly by Jewish and Christian organizations.

For example, what can be done to prevent (or mitigate the effects of) such propaganda as that carried on in recent years by the *Dearborn Independent,* the *World's Work* and other periodicals?

Are public protests desirable against the exhibition of such films as The King of Kings?

Should Jews try to prevent the study of the New Testament (or stories from it) in public schools? Of the Merchant of Venice? (See page 127.)

What has been the effect of Jewish enterprise and investment in the press, in the moving picture industry and in the theatre upon historical misrepresentation? Should Jews work for the complete elimination of Christmas and Easter exercises in public schools?

What is the value of joint Jewish-Christian study groups, such as those promoted by triangle clubs and other organizations, for the elimination of traditional misunderstandings?

Are exchanges of pulpits between rabbis and Christian ministers effective means of downing old-established misconceptions concerning the Jew?

4. PRESENT SITUATION.

Should Jews seek to eliminate as rapidly as possible those outer marks of Jewishness that differentiate them from non-Jews?

What may be expected to be accomplished by the change of names that emphasize Jewishness?

What are the reasons for and against the abolition of customs that necessitate special privileges for Jews (as, for example, in the matter of holidays and closing hours)?

Can such special privileges always be made up for by undertaking special obligations at other times? [1]

a. What would be the probable effect on Jewish life in America if Jewish elementary schools (Chedarim) were discouraged and permitted to die out?

b. If Jewish newspapers were printed in English?

c. If Jews observed more fully and openly the Christmas holiday?

d. If Jewish dietary laws were abrogated? (Could they be relaxed so as to combine strict orthodoxy at home with a more flexible observance in public places and in company with non-Jews?)

Should Jews seek to emphasize their religious and cultural differences from non-Jews so as to increase respect for them as a self-possessed ethnic group?

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[1] E.g., in some communities, Jewish Post-Office employees excused on Jewish holidays make up for this at Christmas when, by working overtime, they give other employes more time off.

How might Jews overcome the feeling of many Gentiles that they are "worming themselves" into groups with which they cannot, it is supposed, feel any real affinity?

How might they overcome the criticism made of "pork-eating Jews" and of Jews celebrating Christian holidays as persons lacking in sincerity and self-respect?

D. Further Clues to Understanding.

How is the conflict of opinion as regards desirable attitudes, actions, modes of behavior, policies and programs affected by

1. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION?

a. *How do non-Jewish attitudes toward Jews compare with Jewish attitudes toward Jews?*

Are the attitudes and the behavior of some groups within the Jewish community toward other groups similar to those which some non-Jews have toward all Jews?

What are such attitudes and their causes?

What are such forms of behavior and their effects?

b. *How do Jews behave toward non-Jews in situations in which Jews are either a majority of the population or a dominant minority?*

Do they, in such situations—as, for instance, in predominantly Jewish neighborhoods—develop attitudes and behaviors similar to those of majority or dominant Christian groups toward Jews elsewhere? If so, from what causes and with what results toward inter-group relations?

Have Jews historically (i.e., both in biblical and post-Biblical times) when and where they have been in a majority, exhibited the following traits:

Friendly tolerance for cultures other than their own?

Sharing of economic and political privileges?

Appreciation for differences in physique, temperament, abilities?

Hospitality toward non-Jews in formal and informal social intercourse?

Have you ever heard of cases in which Jewish firms, schools, landlords, have refused Gentile applicants for work, students, tenants? If so, what were the circumstances?

c. *How do the attitudes of majority or dominant non-Jewish groups toward other non-Jewish groups compare with their attitudes toward Jews?*

What attitudes and forms of behavior are normal in the relations between racial religious or national majorities and minorities, irrespective of the particular ethnic characteristics involved? Why are they?

Is it easier for members of a minority group to be liberal, tolerant, open-minded than for those of a majority? Why or why not?

How is the conflict of opinion as regards desirable attitudes, actions, modes of behavior, policies and programs affected by

2. RE-EXAMINATION OF SITUATIONS.

Having learned something of the background of Jewish experiences in relations with non-Jews and of the larger setting of typical inter-group relations of which they are part, what new understanding have we of the nature of the problem—

a. AS REGARDS CAUSES.

Can we classify the different types of situation examined into some such categories as these:

I. Situations which, essentially, represent no more than hangovers of unfortunate *historical experiences* and ethnic relations, i.e., which have no other reality in feelings connected with present-day interests.

II. Situations which represent pronounced differences in *religious philosophy* and the ethical concepts arising from it.

III. Situations arising in the main from *political conditions* here or in Europe over which American Jews have no control.

IV. Situations in which the association of ethnic with specific *economic interests* heightens a conflict which would exist anyhow.

V. Situations involving *unadjustment or maladjustment of a temporary nature* owing to the recentness of American residence on the part of a large section of American Jewry.

VI. Situations involving *cultural differences* (including language, diet, customs and other elements of habits and modes of life).

VII. Situations involving *racial differences*—in the sense of acquired differences in temperament and mentality as well as inherited physical differences.

b. AS REGARDS NATURE OF THE PROBLEMS THEY CONTAIN.

Can we classify the different types of situation examined into some such categories as these:

I. *Unadjustments* due to lack of personal or group contacts between Jews and non-Jews.

II. *Maladjustments* due to personal or group differences in manners and behavior.

III. *Conflicts of tangible interest.*

IV. *Conflicts of feeling.*

V. *Ethic accentuations* of differences in interest and the motivations that spring from them.

VI. *Clashes of religious conviction* and differences in the conceptions of citizenship and morals they involve.

VII. What other categories do you find? Which of the above would you omit?

c. AS REGARDS PRACTICAL POSSIBILITIES.

With a view to helpful lines of action on the part of Jewish organized community life, can we make use of the following categories?

I. Problems which are likely to *disappear of themselves* with the passage of time.

II. Problems that seem to require *personal reorientation* on the part of individual Jews to their opportunities and responsibilities of mutually desirable relations with Gentiles.

III. Problems that seem to involve processes of *social adjustment* within the Jewish community.

IV. Problems that seem to involve processes of *education within* the Jewish community.

V. Problems that seem to involve the *social engineering of helpful Jewish-Christian group contacts.*

VI. Problems that seem to involve systematic *education of non-Jews* in particular.

E. Action and Reaction.

1. ADJUSTMENT OF ATTITUDE.

What changes in attitude have been experienced since the group first considered policies and programs for action (under Part C. of this outline) ?

Which of the proposals for action already made are now seen as likely to have consequences somewhat different from those contemplated?

Which proposals are withdrawn?

Which are opened up for reconsideration?

2. ENLARGEMENTS OF OUTLOOK.

What interests, not previously recognized are seen as legitimate considerations in any policies or programs proposed for adoption?

3. PLANNING FOR ACTION.

Which of the categories of action previously surveyed (under section D. 2c.) are open to this group as possible fields of applying what has been learned?

i.e., to the members

a. as individuals,

b. as a group,

c. through channels of other organizational connection?

Upon what types of behavior and action can we agree as desirable?

a. as regards individual commitment,

b. as a group program,

c. as items in programs and policies to be urged upon other Jewish organizations?

Which types of activity can best be carried out

a. separately by Jewish groups,

b. through cooperation with existing non-Jewish groups,

c. through the establishment of new agencies for common action between Jews and non-Jews?

4. OBJECTS OF FURTHER STUDY.

What problems of unadjustment between Jews and non-Jews remain open, either as matters of controversy or as matters agreed upon to require further observation and study?

What larger issues, behind these unsolved problems, invite continued study as a necessary preliminary to sound conclusions upon questions of policy?

PART II

FACTS AND OPINIONS

Extracts Illustrative of Different Aspects of Jewish Experience in America and of Jewish Gentile Relations

The following readings are intended to enrich the informational background of the studies suggested, that is, to supplement the reader's own knowledge, from direct experience and other sources, on some of the topics included in the outline. Direct page references to this material in the outline have been avoided to discourage a substitution of secondary for first-hand information, where such is available, and also because it would have been impossible to provide quotations which would strike the reader as adequately covering each point. Especially on the more controversial questions, many books will have to be read if any one desires to secure a "fair" picture of Jewish opinion. All that has been attempted here (as distinct from the more inclusive general reading list in Part III) is to quote from recent Jewish writings not available in book form, passages that seem particularly relevant—often on more than one section of the outline—and provide information or suggestions of a stimulating character.

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1. JEWISH HANDICAPS IN THE EMPLOYMENT MARKET[1]

By Bruno Lasker

TO LAY a basis for a realistic study of anti-semitism, based on first-hand evidence, I attempted last year to follow up some of the classified job advertisements discriminating against Jews that appear daily in our newspapers. In this matter of employment, race discrimination is not only of a much larger social significance than in most other manifestations, but it appears in a form marked enough to bear analysis; for the normal economic interest of an employer obviously is not that of cutting down his potential labor supply by erecting a barrier against one group or another. If he says, "Christians only" or "No Jews need apply," he must presumably have *some* reason—even if it be a poor one—for thus reducing his possible choice of personnel.

A letter was sent to about two hundred advertisers of vacant positions in a New York newspaper who specified or implied that applicants must not be Jewish. (Mr. Harry Schneiderman, of the American Jewish Committee, selected these ads.) This letter was signed with a Gentile name and truthfully stated that the inquiry was undertaken by a committee under Protestant auspices to "secure facts about the reasons which determine many employers, in advertising vacancies in their personnel, to express a preference for Protestants or Gentiles or to exclude others altogether." No inkling was given of the signer's or the committee's own attitude toward the matter. The advertiser was invited, particularly in case his preferences were based on actual experience in the past, to state the nature of that experience. He also was assured that his letter would be treated as confidential.

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[1] Extracts from an article in the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly,* March, 1926, p. 170.

Only a small number, I believe between forty and fifty, replied, among these several employment agencies. Several of the correspondents were subsequently visited by a Gentile investigator, and notes on these interviews were added to the written replies. Let me first quote a few of the more typical answers:

An agency for business positions writes:

In this district especially, we find Protestants called for, because they are considered more trustworthy than Catholics or Hebrews.

One advertiser said:

This is a small office with a staff of only two or three; every one in the office is a Christian, and I think it would be a little more convenient to continue on that basis.

Another employer:

We do not discriminate, but for the convenience of the Gentile members on Jewish holidays we want at least one Gentile girl in the office.

Another:

We sell strictly religious articles for Catholics on weekly payments, and we find that it is better to have a man understanding the Catholic religion to do the collecting.

Another:

By not employing Jews, I move along the line of least resistance: I can adjust myself to the methods and idiosyncrasies of the Frenchman, the German, the Italian, etc., but the view-point of the Jew is a racial trait and is always antagonistic to mine.

Seventy-five per cent. of the graduates in pharmacy in the Metropolitan district colleges are foreign-born Russian Jews. My experience with them, in the laboratory, the prescription department or at the general sales counter, qualifies me to state that they are as a class undesirable. Their work is unclean, clumsy and careless. I am not a bigot, nor am I filled with intolerance against the Hebrews, but being associated with the nice ethics of pharmacy, and with a profound comprehension of the responsibilities entailed thereby, and finding these virtues absent in the Jews, I'll take the Christian, if he is to be had, any time.

The owner of a small factory writes:

We try to have only white American Christians in our factory regardless of religion. This rule was based on past experience. Some time ago we had the Bolshevik class of Jews in our place who caused a strike, although we paid the same rates as other factories in our line. We also found that they stole from us and from other employees. We found the Christians are more to be trusted. The only reason we do not hire the colored race is that most of our employees are women, and they object to it.

One advertiser writes:

We ask for Christians as nearly every Jew we ever hired did us out of his samples which were leased to him. The last one returned a sample case loaded with old magazines instead of the $40 worth of samples there should have been.

One simply said:

Because all our employees are Christians.

Another one:

We have only Christian men working here, and they would not work with Jews or Negroes.

An editor writes:

My reasons are solely personal as I prefer to have an assistant who is a Christian. We have a number of Jews in the office who are very good workers, but who are rather too clannish for me to choose one of that race and faith for my personal assistant.

A publisher writes:

We have always endeavored to employ Gentiles, as our past experience has proved that Jews and Gentiles do not work together very well, and the former we never found remarkable for cleanliness, etc.

The manager of a first-class hotel in New York says:

The only reason why I put the word "Christian" in my ad was that the rest of my boys are Christians and I prefer all of one kind, although I have two Episcopalians, one Roman Catholic and now one Presbyterian, whom I got through that ad. You will, of course, understand why in a place like this appearance, refinement, etc., are necessary.

I would say that during the years I have been here (fourteen) hiring boys, I have found that those from homes where religion means something were far more dependable than those in whose home religion meant nothing at all.

One advertiser wrote across the letter sent him:

One only needs to employ the other kind to find out. If you do not believe it, try it. Anyone sending out such a letter as this is not worthy of receiving a Christian's confidence.

A manufacturer of hospital supplies—himself foreign-born—states:

I hire Christian people because I myself am a Christian and will always give preference to members of my own race whenever it is in my power to do so. I feel that this is a duty of mine.

The employment bureau managers nearly always stated that in their advertisements they merely carry out the orders of their clients. However, several of these employers, subsequently seen, expressed their indignation when it was pointed out to them that a discrimination against Jews had been inserted in an ad of theirs, saying this had been done on the agent's own initiative.

On the other hand, several agents claim that the ads which state preferences and discriminations tell only half the story. Many employers, they say, state no preference on account of race or religion in writing but, as a matter of fact, do so discriminate in making their actual selection from a group of applicants and waste the time of Jewish applicants and of the employment office.

Several employers took the inquiry seriously enough to call in person to explain their position. One of them said that in his experience Jewish and Gentile office workers do not get on together. Another claimed that Jewish applicants more frequently than others described themselves as qualified for jobs when they were not, thinking they could bluff it out until they had learned the job. One man was annoyed because Jewish employees "will not stay put." He said they were no sooner hired than they had their eye on the next higher job and wanted to be promoted. If one did not discourage them, these men wanted to run the whole business in a short time. In fact, they were too aggressive.

The charges of bolshevism, of untidiness, of dishonesty are relatively rare; and where there is a chance to follow them up, often represent generalizations from a single experience. Most employers do not seek to find a reason for their preferences or discriminations—they think it is their own business and, when questioned, assert their right to hire persons congenial to themselves or who, they think, will be congenial to their other employees. One employer expressed annoyance because the *New York Times* would not permit him to qualify an advertised vacancy as open to a "Protestant, white" person. It is, however, the policy of that paper to permit advertisements asking the applicant to state his religion.

Thus, in a majority of cases we are driven back again upon current social attitudes. Not only this investigation but others, on a much larger scale, have sufficiently demonstrated that economic self-interest enters only to a small extent into American employment policies. Industrial counsellors and writers on personnel administration make the almost universal mistake of assuming that labor costs determine labor management. Of course, efficiency in shop and office requires a certain amount of congeniality to make the work go smoothly; but the plea that race discrimination makes for congeniality has not, so far as we know, been put to a single scientific test. In fact, choice for congeniality in most cases is interpreted to mean broad distinctions along lines of popular assumptions as regards race characteristics; there is no personal examination of the applicant for a position to determine his eligibility from this point of view. Thus firms that spend thousands of dollars upon testing supplies often apply no test at all to the hiring of a new worker, as regards his ability to get on with the rest, but choose by such irrelevant data as his name and the shape of his nose.

It is not surprising, therefore, if an employer who has been following a sentiment or half-realized prejudice in excluding Jews from his personnel is hard put to it when asked for an explanation and grabs at the first one that comes into his head, usually exaggerating some experience of his own or merely repeating some specific thing he has heard to the discredit of Jews. But there is another reason why an examination of the current dislike of Jews, where it manifests itself, yields such surprising variety of mutually exclusive judgments —socialist tendencies and extreme individualism, traditionalism and lack of social background, aloofness and excessive familiarity, hyperfastidiousness and crude manners, etc. These judgments spring from two different sets of experiences, the one traditional, living on in the social memory, the other contemporaneous.

In other words, the bars against the Jew in search of a job are of two different timbers: one historical and, therefore, raised against the old-established American Jew as much as against the latest immigrant from a Polish ghetto, the other temporary, due to the particular part played by Jews in America today. While in practice, of course, the two causes of anti-Semitism overlap and interplay and an employer does not ask an applicant for work how long his family has been in this country, yet these different strands may often be recognized in the answers which people give to questions concerning their anti-Jewish discriminations. The contradictions noted above are explained when we realize that half the arguments (actual or implied) against the employment of Jews in America have their origin in the opinion that they adapt themselves too slowly (or not at all) to western ideas, the other half that they adapt themselves too rapidly.

It makes no difference that Jews, perhaps a majority of Jews, are as thoroughly American by any test that may objectively be applied as any other section of the American population. So long as their number increases through immigration, and especially so long as hoary superstitions concerning Jews are kept alive through non-Jewish immigration, they are looked upon as a group apart—and not merely in the sense in which the Mormons or the Pennsylvania Dutch are recognized as groups with a separate history and identity but in the sense of perennial strangers.

Yet, the every-day experience of the job-seeker as well as other evidence would seem to indicate that the explicit reasons for discriminating against Jews in America are more often of the second type; dislike of them springs from too rapid an adaptation of the Jewish immigrant and his children to American life. Or shall we say, too uneven an adaptation? A typical Italian or Slavic family will, at least for a generation, stay more or less on an even social level; and the qualities of recent immigrants of these peoples, while varying, tend to change gradually through recognizable stages. Jews, on the other hand, even before they can speak English, cease to be a socially homogeneous group. Some remain proletarians, others rise rapidly in material prosperity.

It is this rapid rise of a considerable proportion rather than difficulties of adjustment shared by Jews with other immigrant groups that sets its distinguishing stamp upon Gentile-Jewish relations in America. It not only makes the Jewish group more dangerous in competition, but actually gives the group as a whole an economic and cultural influence for which a large section of it is culturally immature. Thus Jews rather than Poles or Magyars exemplify the vices of an aggressive minority; and while individuals and families of other races and nationalities that have money without manners are dismissed from the thought with a shrug, there are too many Jewish families of an objectionable newly rich category to remain isolated phenomena. Experiences of such undesirable qualities as those listed by employers, combining themselves irrationally with the more remote, traditional causes of dislike, produce a false generalization which then becomes repeated and handed on until in the popular Gentile view the whole Jewish race is charged with mental and moral qualities which, as a matter of plain, historical fact, are not characteristic of it at all.

2. THE KINGS COUNTY HOSPITAL CASE[1]

By HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN

ON OR about June 21, 1927, three Jewish physicians serving as internes in Kings County Hospital, New York City, complained that on the preceding night they had been dragged out of bed in the middle of the night, bound, gagged, ducked in a bath-tub of ice-cold water and otherwise maltreated. They said that the assault had been made by a group of some twenty practitioners of the hospital. Six of the internes were identified by the victims and were arrested. The charge of the three Jewish internes that religious bias was intense at the hospital and had led to their ordeal, led to the initiation of three investigations. One inquiry was started by Bird S. Coler, Commissioner of Public Welfare, the second by the Committee of Internes of the Medical Board of the hospital, and the third by Mayor James J. Walker personally.

According to statements made on behalf of the Jewish physicians by their counsel, Mr. Sweedler, anti-Jewish feeling had existed at Kings County Hospital right along. Some eleven years ago, he said, the first Jewish doctor who came to the hospital as an interne, Dr. Oldstein, was bound, gagged, thrown into a cab, taken to Grand Central Terminal, put on a train with the threat that he would be thrown into the East River if he returned. He did not return; and up to the time Dr. Soloway (one of the Jews) joined the staff, some two years previous to the hazing incident, there had been no Jewish interne at the institution. Some fifteen months after Dr. Soloway, two more Jews came. There were altogether four Jewish internes at the institution at the time of the hazing, but the fourth Jew, Dr. Zweiffler, happened to be absent that night.

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[1] Summarized from the reports in the *New York Times.*

The three Jews who figured in the hazing affair charged that they had been warned to leave the staff. They said that statements such as, "This is a Christian institution, and we will tolerate no Jews here," were made to them by their Christian fellow practitioners on several occasions. Complaints were made to the superintendent of the hospital, Dr. Mortimer D. Jones. Five days previous to the assault, the Rev. Louis Gross, Rabbi of Union Temple, Brooklyn, and a group of rabbis, visited the hospital and complained to Dr. Jones that the Jewish internes were not getting a square deal. They spent an entire afternoon with Dr. Jones, discussing means to eliminate the anti-Semitic feeling in the hospital. Dr. Jones, as a result of the conference, wrote a letter to Rabbi Gross promising to cooperate with Commissioner Coler to remedy the situation. He also asked Dr. Soloway, one of the Jewish internes, to make a complaint in writing, so that the matter could be taken up by a committee.

Among the anti-Jewish manifestations were these: Jews were not allowed to sit at the same table with Gentile doctors; Jews were not allowed to play in the hospital tennis courts, though they were willing to contribute to the upkeep of the courts; offensive remarks in which the word "Jew" figured as a term of opprobrium; discourtesy on the part of nurses; failure on their part to carry out Jewish doctors' instructions; Jewish patients were neglected; Jewish internes were not summoned promptly to the bedside of patients in urgent need of treatment—when a telephone call came for a Jewish doctor, the operator was told that he was not there, or the receiver was slammed back in place. Some such procedure was followed in a case when a gravely ill woman was admitted to the hospital, with the result that she was not attended for about two hours and her chance for recovery was made slimmer than it had been. The woman died an hour after she was finally attended.

At the investigation by Mayor Walker, Dr. Jones denied that religious prejudice was rife at the hospital, but admitted that influence had won interneships for well-connected applicants. He also admitted knowing that there was a separate table for the Jews in the dining hall, called the "Kosher" table. One of the things pointed out was the fact that the first question in the application for internes was about the applicant's religion; the elimination of this question, Dr. Jones said, had been under consideration. The Jewish doctors testified, at the Mayor's inquiry, to several specific cases of direct expressions of anti-Semitic prejudice affecting both the patients and the physicians. Dr. Jones affected ignorance or else offered an explanation of the cases as cited by the physicians, or said that he was thinking of remedying things; the facts, however, that complaints had been made to him, and that the situation still remained unremedied, were apparent.

The six physicians charged with assault on the three Jews were suspended from the hospital. Later, they formally apologized to the Jewish internes who thereupon withdrew the charge of assault.

After the preliminary hearings, the Mayor referred the matter for a thorough investigation to Mr. Higgins, Commissioner of Accounts. In the spring of 1928 the latter submitted a report in which he produced data to support his conclusions that the charges of anti-Jewish discrimination at the hospital were well founded. Superintendent Jones was suspended, but the Medical Board of the hospital gave him a copy of Mr. Higgins's report and asked him to provide them with an answer to it. Thereafter Dr. Jones was reinstated when the Medical Board submitted to Commissioner Coler a report in which they declared that Dr. Jones's reply to the charges named in Mr. Higgins's report was "complete, accurate and satisfactory in every detail" and specifically that it proved "as unfounded the claim of racial or religious prejudice." The Medical Board, however, did not publish at that time or later the text of Dr. Jones's replies to the charges of Commissioner Higgins.

3. JEWISH TEACHERS[1]

By SAMUEL TENENBAUM

I. In Small Towns

LATER I lived in small towns, and what was theory before I saw in actuality. I began to understand the relationship of the teacher to the community that hires him, and I began vividly to see the many barriers that prevented the Jew from making a perfect adjustment. First, the town awaited the arrival of the new teacher with a great deal of impatience. He or she was an unknown, but all kinds of hopes were entertained that he be of the sort to add to the town's social life. If he was the kind of material that the town liked—by that I mean able to fraternize with the town's chief merchant—then dandy and excellent. Then he had an open road to all the principal bridge parties and socials. Of course, he was expected to be moral and attend church. What a demoralizing example he would furnish the young if he stayed away! Furthermore, he was expected to be part of the church crowd and take a leading part in all the charitable and philanthropic movements in the community, whether in the capacity of scoutmaster or secretary of the Young Baptist League.

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[1] From articles on "The Problem of the Jew as Teacher" in *The Jewish Tribune* for October 14th and October 28th, 1927.

Then he was expected to accept frequent dinner invitations from the parents of students, and, of course, he had to show proper humility when responding to the invitation of a member of the board of education.

The Jew usually doesn't fit into the picture as outlined above. He is regarded—or would be if he got the job—as a queer creature. . . . However, that does not deny the fact that some Jews are holding such jobs and are filling them well. But these cases are infrequent.

At this time it should be mentioned that the Catholics, too, are subjected to vast intolerance. One of them, a superintendent of schools in an upstate New York town, confessed to me that his heart is in his throat every time he accepts a new appointment. He didn't reveal to me how he ever got the appointment.

"I've had the experience of presiding at an all-Protestant get-together," he told me. "The town was anxious to honor me, and they proposed that I accept the chairmanship of the meeting, and later, apparently liking me, forced on me the junior section of the campaign to get the younger element back to church."

"And what happened when they discovered you were a Catholic?" I asked.

"They never did," he answered, and that settled that.

Several have told me that there are towns which are fairly tolerant when it comes to religion. But as a rule, they agree, a Jew has a slim chance of getting the job if a Gentile applicant offers qualifications which only barely approximate the Jew's.

Professors in schools of education admitted, although deploring the fact, that the charge of prejudice was not exaggerated. "There is something that seems to prevent even the community that prides itself on its broadness and bigness, from hiring a teacher of another faith, creed, or color. Intellectually we have gotten to the stage where we are tolerant, but for practical purposes, when it comes to a job or direct association, we have not overcome this intolerance. The intellectual element is small anywhere, and the problem is made all the more complicated when we remember that in most cases politicians do the hiring, and that these politicians echo the prejudices and the bigotry of small minds."

The case of a thoroughly Americanized Southerner interested me. The young man was partly Jewish, his father being a Gentile. He was a biology teacher in a high school in Tennessee. From all I was able to gather he was doing well. He associated with the desirable young blood of the town. By that I mean he was invited to all the exclusive dances, receptions, and parties and was eligible to join the more select clubs of the community. He had also a standing invitation to his principal's home, of which he made use, especially as an attractive daughter abode there. The frequency of the young man's visits increased, and from all appearances the papa regarded the affair with a "God bless you" attitude. The rejoicing came to a sudden halt when by devious ways—for the truth won't down—it was learned that the young man was a Jew. The engagement was called off, and things were made so unpleasant for him that he left, although his contract was to expire five months hence.

"How can a town break a contract?" I asked of a Jewish woman teacher, knowing that most teaching contracts call for a year's work.

"You still don't know the power of looks—mean and nasty ones," she said. "They stare at you in a spiteful sort of way. They make you feel that you are not wanted, and after a while you begin to hate yourself. And you leave—posthaste—as if from a nightmare."

I don't mean to create the impression that there are no Jewish teachers in small towns. But it is true that most of them, of the few that there are, come from small towns and are thoroughly Americanized. Even these must withstand a vast amount of intolerance and lessened opportunity. They are at a great handicap in obtaining positions of importance in the educational system.

II. In New York

The biggest town in these United States is New York City. It is there where the prejudice against the Jewish teacher is at a minimum. . . .

There are thousands of Jewish teachers included among the more than 30,000 which make up the city's elementary and high school system. They occupy positions in every department of the organization, from the exalted position of member of the Board of Education and the Board of Examiners to the lowly classroom pedagogue.

Still New York City teachers will be far from admitting that the situation is entirely free from any semblance of prejudice. And they can marshal fairly convincing evidence to bear out their contention. There are some jobs which are appointive and some which are obtained as a result of civil service examinations. Wherever the latter is the case, they point out, Jews hold more than their proportionate share of good jobs; wherever the former their members are insignificant.

To illustrate: The position of principal of an elementary school is under civil service, and the number of Jews holding this position is greater than their proportionate number in the system. A high school principalship is appointive. Already we find a small number, much smaller, than their proportion. There are two Jewish high school principals, Dr. Elias Lieberman, of Thomas Jefferson High, located in the thickly populated Jewish district of Brooklyn, East New York and Brownsville, and Dr. Brody, of the Seward Park

High School, located in the ghetto district of the East Side. Further, it will be pointed out that even the exalted office of the Board of Examiners, which pass on other teachers, boasts two Jews, but that the district superintendent, who has charge of several schools in a district, has until recently never been a Jew. This last position is appointive. Dr. Oswald Schlockkow, one of the best beloved teachers in the city, was the recent Jewish appointee.

Also, there are Jewish applicants for teaching positions who insist, after failure, that they have been the subjects of discrimination and prejudice. The Board of Education requires that each applicant, besides passing a written examination, also pass an oral examination, which is given by a member of the Board of Examiners. Those who fail to pass point out that if an examiner doesn't like the appearance, the necktie, the religion or the eyeglasses of the applicant, he can discover, with little difficulty, that the applicant doesn't pronounce correctly "She sells sea shells at the sea shore."

But, despite all this, there are thousands of Jews who have passed the censor, and are today part of the gigantic city system. And it may also be said that for ordinary purposes the Jewish educator, provided he has no foreign accent and appears like an American, whatever that may be, can today, tomorrow, and the next day, judging by the past, get into the system. . . .

However, this is true: Most of the men in the system are dreaming of getting out.

For various reasons, perhaps because of the low salary, the Jewish teacher feels uncomfortable in his social environment. Frequently young teachers have pleaded with me: "Don't let 'em know what I do. It's tough on guys like us. Women don't seem to like us any."

For the Jewish woman the situation presents other aspects. She is socially esteemed. For her, it is still regarded as the most desirable occupation. Her position aids her considerably in making a match, inasmuch as her help financially may mean much, for gone are the days when the marriage ring meant that the teacher had to desert the Little Red School-house—in New York, at any rate.

4. THE JEW AND THE CLUB [1]

By X

MY NEIGHBOR Mr. C. and I are intimate friends; our families see much of each other. Occasionally, we dine at each other's houses and we and our wives sometimes go to the theatre together. He is a man of much greater means than I am, is most hospitable, and entertains very freely. I know many of his friends, associate with a number of them, and in a general way may be said to belong to his circle. In summer I see much less of him than at other times of the year and our intimacy suffers a certain check, the reason of this being golf. My neighbor is not a great golfer and I am not a helpless cripple. Probably Mr. C. would be willing to play with me, but I am not a member of his golf club and I cannot become one, for I am of Jewish origin and Mr. C. is of New England stock. There are some public links in the suburb where I live, but the people with whom I associate are all members of the X Country Club to which, as indicated, I am not eligible. I am not snobbish but golf would interest me only as a means of social intercourse and so I do not go to the municipal golf club where the players are of an entirely different social group from the one to which I belong. This sounds as if I were laying undue stress upon social life or perhaps society. As a matter of fact, I am not much of a clubman; I have no special desire to go to clubs frequently, and I rarely attend the meetings of those societies to which I do belong. But the fact that I and members of my family cannot belong to certain organizations which form the social centre of the community prevents us in large measure from forming those intimate and congenial friendships which most, if not all, men crave.

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[1] Extract from an article in the *Atlantic Monthly,* October, 1924, p. 451.

I do not really suffer so very greatly. I am in business all day. When I come home I am apt to be tired and am quite ready to enjoy the company of a good book. But it is hard on my wife and worse for my children. The social life of the community in which I live centres, as is so often the case in American suburbs, around the town club; especially the children find their companionship in the dances which take place Friday evenings, on the skating-rink attached to the club in the winter, and on the tennis courts in summer. I find it rather difficult to make it clear to my children why we are not eligible, for from one point of view it isn't quite clear to me. We are in no sense foreigners; my wife and I are both descended from generations of cultured people. I was educated at what is generally regarded as one of the most famous of American universities, was a member of its staff for a short time after graduation, and have occupied positions of trust and responsibility. We do not even have very pronounced Jewish features. What makes the situation even more puzzling is that while no Jew is admitted to either the local community club or to the X Country Club, there are a number of members who I am convinced are of Jewish origin but have changed their family name, give lip-service to a Christian church, and are probably more anti-Semitic than those who have no trace of Jewish blood. The fact is that the whole distinction is very artificial in the main, the average American recognizing a cultured Jew merely by certain outward signs, such as the name, the features, and the like, and when the name is changed and kinship to the Jewish race denied, the true facts are not even recognized.

It might be asked, if this is the situation, why do Jews like ourselves stay where they are evidently not wanted? Why do we not move into the city? We live in the suburbs for the same reasons that our neighbors do, because it is better for our children. Then the natural question to be raised is, whether we are the only Jews here, and if there are others, why do we not club together? There are Jewish golf clubs and Jewish social clubs, and undoubtedly here and there this arrangement offers a satisfactory solution of the difficulties presented. But from a large point of view, what does this mean? It means that amalgamation with the rest of the population becomes more and more difficult, and the Americanization upon which so much stress is laid is made impossible. Certainly, love of country cannot be expected of those who are treated as being citizens of subordinate rank, never to be permitted to attain to the higher grade. Mere material comfort is not enough, especially for the educated and cultured classes, who have the same tastes and the same desires as have their fellow citizens. Moreover, the Jew cannot find refuge in purely Jewish social organizations. Outside of New York the Jewish communities by themselves are not large enough to permit the organization of hard and fast groups of kindred tastes. In many of the Jewish clubs about the only bond between the members is their common racial origin, and there is little community of taste and education.

After all, in Boston there is only one Somerset Club, in Chicago only one Chicago Club, in Detroit only one Detroit Club, and these cities have only one University Club each. If it be considered from how large a population these clubs draw their membership, and how relatively small in each instance a like Jewish population is, it is clear that the Jews cannot find a sufficient number who have the desired qualifications to form similar separate clubs. The same applies to clubs of the second rank and so down the line. In the suburb where I live there are a handful of Jewish families. They could hardly support a variety of clubs of their own to parallel similar Gentile clubs, even if these Jewish families were all congenial. This, of course, they are not likely to be, any more than all Methodists are congenial to each other, or Catholics, or members of other religious or racial groups. . . .

In Europe if he is personally agreeable to a small group, the Jew will undoubtedly be able to visit the same meeting-place as his Christian neighbor, sit with him, meet and share in the activities of the whole group. My neighbor Mr. C. would not go off to his club with his friends, leaving me to find my own amusement, but naturally would include me in his various activities as he does his other friends and acquaintances. We should all be on the same level, and there would not be the same wall of caste between us, and between his children and my children. When the Alumni Club of my old University meets, I should feel free to meet with it and keep up my old associations. I do not do so now, for the meeting place is the University Club, to which I am ineligible. As I have naturally some pride, I decline to attend the meetings of an organization held in a place where I am not welcome. I am regarded as one of the better known and —may the anonymous conceit be pardoned—one of the more distinguished graduates of the institution; so my old associates frequently importune me to participate in the activities of the club of my Alma Mater, for which at various times I have sacrificed much. It is curious and characteristic that they do not seem even to understand why I am inclined to reject such an invitation as an insult, any more than I quite comprehend why any self-respecting man should be expected to participate in and help support every social and civic enterprise—such as a city club, membership in which gives no honor or special privilege—when at the same time he is rigidly excluded from all that is considered as really worth while.

Gradually, more and more, much of the business life and social life of our larger communities is beginning to centre around clubs. More and more Jews, and here and there Catholics, are being excluded from such clubs. Still, Jews and Catholics form a fairly large and important element of the population. In so far as they have not acquired the education, point of view, and habits of the Protestant Nordic races, it is natural that they would be excluded, but such differences tend to disappear in the course of a few generations. The present tendency, however, is to make the cleavage permanent and to introduce what in time will amount to a caste system in its way as rigid as any devised in the East. Whether this will make for a more unified nation and whether this is in accord with the doctrines of the founders of the country I leave my readers to judge.

The difference between the system of social organization in this country and that of Europe is much the same as that underlying the organization of the student body in those institutions of higher learning where there are fraternities and sororities and those where these do not exist. In the former the students are forced early into rigid and unchanging groups; in the latter there is constant flux, and even a Jewish boy or girl has an opportunity, if found desirable and agreeable, to make friends outside of his or her co-religionists. So in the cafés of Europe men meet and intermingle; those who find each other congenial will congregate together regardless of race or religion. In practice it is true that some social groups will not care for Jews, others may be composed largely of Jews, but in practically all instances the determining factors will not be race or religion, but a community of interest, taste, education, and culture, and those indefinable qualities which attract men to one another. My objection to our system is that these qualities are not allowed free play, but that purely artificial distinctions have been built up. In many clubs which refuse membership to Jews, probably few members have individually any objection to Jews, many of them probably have Jewish friends, but as a club—Heaven forbid that Jews be ever admitted! It would make the club less exclusive in comparison with other clubs, and therefore less desirable. The fact is always emphasized that so many Jews have qualities which are undesirable and disagreeable, that even if there be a Jew who is personally agreeable, he cannot be admitted because he would immediately bring others. This has always seemed to me a lame argument. Clubs discriminate between Gentile and Gentile. No membership committee feels bound to admit all Presbyterians because some members of the club attend the services of the Presbyterian Church, nor to admit all people with dark hair and short noses because a majority of the members in the club have dark hair and short noses. A Jew should not be admitted to a club because he is a Jew any more than he should be excluded because he is a Jew.

Undoubtedly, it will be felt that I am making a mountain out of a molehill and that in the everyday life of our people, Jews and others, all this plays no rôle. It may be felt that what I say concerns only a small class of the wealthy who have not been accorded the social recognition which they believe to be their due. But this is not the whole story. I have dwelt at length upon clubs, because the facts there are less easily denied; there they have become generally recognized. For as I stated at the outset, the trouble with so much of it all is that it is hidden and not admitted, and so cannot be fought in the open. The Jewish controversy at

Harvard is well known.[1] It was at least open and above board, though it made the lot of Harvard men of Jewish extraction more difficult. However, at Harvard the question was settled in such fashion that the Jew is not discriminated against officially, at any rate. At many other universities, however, the same problem has appeared, and open discussion has been carefully avoided for fear of giving offense to possible donors with Jewish antecedents. It is well known, however, that Jewish boys and girls have much difficulty in gaining admission to these institutions, and conditions similar to those in Rumania, Poland, and various Balkan states have developed.

Least of all is it realized that discrimination of this kind is gaining marked headway in business life. It is natural that the men whose social life is spent together should also desire to be associated together in business. They know each other from all angles; they are congenial, for otherwise they would not be together outside of business; and when favorable business opportunities arise their thoughts quite naturally turn to each other. This sort of consideration cannot affect a business owned by an individual or a very small group. It will arise in concerns where the social side is well developed, as in banks, where officers are apt to belong to clubs of one kind or another, though this development is by no means confined to banks. Of course, no bank or other business would admit that it discriminates against Jews and Catholics, leastwise not if its customers are large in number and belong to all classes of society. Nevertheless, it is well known to the initiated that several of the larger New York banks will employ no Jews and at least one of the very largest also has the bars raised to keep out Catholics. In some of the other cities, some of the larger banks have one or two Jewish officers and perhaps here and there a Jewish member of the board of directors. In some instances this is with deliberate intent to attract Jewish customers. But even so, it is becoming rarer and rarer to employ Jews in banks other than those where the controlling interest is Jewish.

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[1] This case is fully developed as an illustration of helpful controversial procedure in the Inquiry publication, *Creative Discussion*, by A. D. Sheffield. See p. 309.

I have mentioned the situation of Jewish students, but not only are Jewish students excluded from our universities primarily because they are Jews, but Jews are finding it more and more impossible to obtain teaching positions in universities, and Jewish students of medicine are experiencing difficulty in obtaining desirable interneships in our hospitals, though as yet we have not reached the condition of Rumania, where Jewish students can dissect only if Jewish cadavers are available.

5. THE SIZE OF THE JEWISH COMMUNITY AND ITS IMPLICATION [1]

By Marvin Lowenthal

THE Jewish world, to take one important example, is accustomed, like Gaul or the Trinity, to be classified under three heads: Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform; or sometimes Assimilationist, Zionist, and Radical; or again German, Russian, and Sephardic. A detached survey will add a new division, perhaps richer in its implications: town communities, city communities, and in its own, unclassified class, the Jews of New York City. The size of an American Jewish community and the general community in which it is placed constitutes something similar to the geographical factor in the life of normal nations. It colors every activity and determines many of them. It makes certain things possible, such as the importance of the B'nai B'rith in Bakersfield, Cal., and others inevitable, such as the Yiddish theater in New York. The cohesion, common-mindedness, or democracy which a Jewish community achieves—and these are significant to any control of the Jewish future—are to a considerable extent a function of its size. In a village the ordinary distinctions, Reform, Zionist, etc., disappear, but no cohesion or common-mindedness supplants them; the Jews are simply gulped down by the general community. At the other end of the scale, in New York City vast populations ("community" is here a deceitful word) slough off their Jewish heritage without being swallowed up, for no maw can accommodate them; and their amorphous life, which for culture must be content with the shellac of the day—movies, Wrigleys, and *Snappy Stories*—points a moral on the spiritual insignificance of mere numbers. Again, the center of gravity for the Jewish interests of a community shifts with its size. In a small town, two institutions usually form the poles of activity—the card club for the native group and the free loan association for the immigrant group. In cities of large populations these centers become more numerous: Zionist district headquarters, labor union locals, *Landsmannschaft* halls, mutual aid lodges, and temples and synagogues.

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[1] Extract from an article in *The Menorah Journal,* February, 1921, p. 6.

The number of the population will also generally determine the amount and character of contact a community enjoys with the Jewish world at large. The smaller the city, the more puerile the local English-Jewish paper, the less likely a Yiddish sheet, the more restricted the consumption of Jewish books and the less frequent a Jewish lecture. On the other hand, in New York City the tempo of life is so inordinate that large masses of Jews escape any contact with its manifold Jewish centers and remain oblivious to the general Jewish world. When it comes to Jewish illiteracy New York and Janesville, Wis., meet. Finally, this significance of size can be read in the account sheets of our national Jewish drives—rough meters of the Jewish power to act—where the medium-size cities are shown normally to pay more and pay more quickly than New York or the towns and villages, and where the country at large ranks far above New York City (for the Palestine Restoration Fund, to a ratio of about two to one).

It is a fair conclusion that no analysis of Jewish life or program for its future can afford to overlook this numerical factor, and that any talk about schools, language, lecture-courses, books, social centers, or what you please must in a measure turn on the size of the communities under discussion. A detached survey, viewing Jewish life as it goes (and not as it likes to imagine it goes) will naturally take into account many other aspects of Jewish performance hitherto ignored—such as the operation of prestige based sometimes on wealth and sometimes on the dictum of the Gentile world, or the influence of "secular" ambitions on much of the ardor displayed in Jewish affairs, as witnessed, for example, by the indefatigable devotion of young Jewish lawyers, seeking clientele and connections, to Jewish fraternal orders, charities, and other public activities.

6. JEWISH GROUP DIVISIONS IN AMERICA[1]

By Horace M. Kallen

THE Jews of the United States are divided into orders and castes whose character cannot be described in simple terms. Moreover, they are in considerable economic and social flux; their boundaries are indeterminate and overlap; their centers are losing solidity and changing form and structure. As a totality, they do not present the picture of an integrated social group, conscious of its corporate personality, alive with a common purpose and working out, by means of the compenetration of its inheritance of its environment, the social patterns and spiritual significances of an organized common life at once Jewish and American. Although efforts at integration, even intense and passionate efforts, are discernible in this American aggregation of Jewries, they do not seem to be efficacious; the cohesion of the parts is due far more to the inertia of tradition and the pressure of fear than to the inward propulsion of common interests and common ideals fulfilling themselves in common institutions. The parts intermingle, but there is no common center of Jewish nature about which they can group themselves, no common direction of Jewish tracing in which they can move.

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[1] Extract from an article, "Can Judaism Survive in the United States?", in *The Menorah Journal*, April, 1925, p. 106 *et seq.*

For numbers, vitality, and corporate Jewishness, easily the first of these parts is the body of poor industrial workers who inhabit the Bronx and the lower East Side of New York, the West and Northwest side of Chicago, and have their well-defined quarters in every large city of the land. In the lives of these Judaism tends to be no more than a survival worn down to certain dietary intolerances, an occasional Kaddish for the dead, and perhaps a ticket admitting to synagog or hall on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. They are not members of synagogues. They have no interest in the transmission of Judaism to their children. They do not care about Hebrew. Their free energies—those not taken up by the day's work—are absorbed in the politics of their unions and of the socialist parties. Their spiritual pabulum is a mixture of the unconscious tradition, the "radical" Yiddish press, the Yiddish theatre, and the standard-making uniformities of Americanism—newspaper boiler-plate, picture palace films.

Yiddish, a Yiddish as American as Pennsylvania Dutch, is their medium for the intimacies of social communication and cultural expression, the channel of their emotional life and their free interests. In so far as they are conscious of a social inheritance and a cultural tradition at all, and desirous to transmit and to develop it, it is this secular inheritance and tradition they appreciate and seek to pass on. They are the majority of the Jews in the land; if Judaism has a future with them, it is not discernible in their present attitude and interests.

The next group in the order of significance might roughly be described as the Jewry of the lower middle and middle classes. Very roughly. For this group is most solidary in the character of its vocation rather than its income level. That is exceedingly variable; Jews who by their incomes may belong to the great bourgeois are, because of their habits of life, mental attitude and dominant interests, members of this class. It is composed mostly of the shopkeepers, the tradesmen, the contracting employers, the white-collar proletarians, the small manufacturers, the bankers, the schoolmasters, and so on. Their characteristic income level is doubtfully higher than that of the organized factory-employees. They are distinguished from the latter mostly in being their own men; making a living has for them the insecurity of a speculation and an adventure. Mostly of the recent migration, they carry with them lively recollections of such education of Judaism as they had received. The insecurity of their livelihoods is personal; it keeps awake in them the sense of risk and of the importance of fortune; it renders the grace of God a matter of import in the daily grind. Accordingly, Judaism signifies to this class values the industrial workers are under no necessity to regard. And accordingly it is this class who compose the bulk of the membership of the orthodox synagogues of the land, recruiting such societies as the Congregation of the Men of Kalvaria or Shnipishok or Bolotke. It is their sons who are sent to the *cheders* and *talmud torahs* and in their due proportions graduated into the conservative and reform theological seminaries. It is they who are prevailingly the members of the Zionist organization, the supporters of the Hebrew press, and the transmitters of the neo-Hebrew culture. Their vernacular also is Yiddish, but they read the *Tageblatt,* not the *Vorwärts.*

From their ranks, largely, emerge the various types of clothing manufacturers, the bankers, the cotton factors, the commission merchants, the lawyers, physicians, "realtors," building contractors and construction engineers who live on a superior income level but retain the habits of life and ways of thought of their poverty and struggle. These are the patrons and benefactors of such endeavors to harmonize traditional Judaism with the currents and institutions of modern life as are to be seen in the Mizrachi, in the endeavor after the establishment and maintenance of Jewish parochial schools, in the project for a new "modern" Yeshivah, and conspicuously in that imaginative adventure in harmonization, the Society for the Advancement of Judaism, captained by Rabbi M. M. Kaplan. Some of this class are drawn into the byway of "Jewish Science," that interesting appropriation of the dogmas of Christian Science by the adjective Jewish. Negligible in number are the children of this class who are touched by the tradition their fathers pay to carry on, and who take the torch from their fathers' hands. Their number grows, if anything, smaller.

So, in spite of these efforts to integrate them, the fissure between the tradition of Judaism and modernity communicated by the public schools, the public prints and the public mores seems to widen rather than to narrow; they live to gether only where one or both are inert. Judaism, like

Christianity, is not successfully competing with its secular rivals. The young don't care about Judaism.

That the young don't care about Judaism is even truer of the children of the prosperous Jews of native and west European origin. The total membership of the reform congregations numbers no more than 50,000. It now hardly ever sends one of its sons into the rabbinate. Its children graduate from the Sunday school into an indifference to Judaism which anti-Semitic revivals or untoward personal experiences may shock into a reblazoning of the compensating dogma of "the mission of Israel" or an uneasiness about this irrelevant and troublesome burden of being a Jew. Being a Jew, for any member of this group, is in fact only remotely and in times of anxiety being a member of a temple and the scion of a priest-people. From day to day it is a matter of whom he dines with, exchanges calls with, plays cards with in a club of a Sunday and feels most at ease with; it is a matter of wives' intimacies, social habits, preferences and prejudices. To these the personality-image of the Jews as a priest-people with a mission is added; its work is to compensate the members of this social enclave for the continually reawakened inferiority-feelings in the Christian environment. Seen objectively, being a reform Jew is being first of all a member of a social group among the Jews; only tangentially does it consist in being a member of a religious sect. Income level and diction are usually more definitive of religious affiliation than theology or even dietary habits.

In sum: the Jews of America fall, with respect to Judaism, into three broad divisions none of which shows any seeds of a vital future Judaism. These divisions, of course, break up into smaller ones that overlap, cross, interpenetrate, and pull away. Of course, the larger ones have their harmonies as well as their antagonisms. But the spring and drive of these harmonies come from common enemies and inert affirmations. Efforts to awaken living positive purposes that shall integrate the diversities of American Jewry into a stable creative force in American life and culture seem so far to be lacking. Not that the Jewish communities of the land have not made and are not making distinguished contributions to the national spirit; I have discussed this matter elsewhere [1] and shall say no more about it here. But it is to be noted that these contributions are themselves by-products of negations and inertia, automatic responses of the old Jewish order to the transforming pressure of the new land and new life and the new institutions. The negations, such, for example, as are manifest in the initial intention and developed policy of the American Jewish Committee and the Organization and activity of the American Jewish Congress and the Joint Distribution Committee during the war and after, are the defenses against recrudescent anti-Semitism. The inert affirmations are those repeated by temple and synagogue without enduring effect on the young. Endeavors to establish common living purposes for Jewry are concentrated largely in the "federation movement," and in the post-war transformation of the Jewish Welfare Board into a Jewish Center activity. The federation movement is seeking to integrate both the remedial and the educational establishments of the different strata of the Jewish communities into coordinated wholes. The Jewish Center movement is coordinating the free activity of the different Hebrew Associations. But how are the people rallying to the federation movement? And, in view of the astounding numbers of Jews in the Christian Associations, what may be said of the power of the Hebrew Associations and Jewish Centers to draw and to hold the Jews?

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[1] *Culture and Democracy in the United States,* Boni and Liveright, 1924.

7. JEWISH MANNERS AND MANNER [1]

By Lewis Browne

MANNERS are pleasant things, but not of real importance, for they can never be judged by universal standards. They can never be either good or bad, right or wrong; they can only be different. For instance, wielding a soup-spoon with a backhand stroke is in no wise more virtuous, not even more elegant, than wielding it with the locally less fashionable—though universally more adventurous front-hand stroke. So there is no need to defend the Jews against the charge that they have bad manners. In the first place, the Jews, as a people, haven't any manners at all. By that, I mean, of course, that there is no such thing as a Jewish code of etiquette which all Israelites accept and try to live up to. Each Jew gets his manners from his environment; so that if he is from Russia he drinks tea out of a glass, and if from England he eats fish with a knife. Consequently, it is absurd to speak of "Jewish manners," either good, bad, or indifferent.

It is true that many Jews in America still retain the East-European manners they brought with them from their homelands. But they will not retain them long; and certainly their children will not inherit them. For those manners are no more inherent in Jews than a rolling gait is inherent in a people whose ancestors were for a while seafarers. Indeed, with immigration practically at a standstill, a swift doom seems inevitable, not merely for such foreign manners, but also for the rest of those striking exoticisms which some people imagine to be characteristically Jewish. More and more of the Yiddish newspapers are introducing English supplements; and fewer and fewer become the Jews who retain their long beards. Within another two generations, Yiddish accents and long beards will probably be as rare even in an East-Side synagogue as they are now in the Cathedral of St. John the Divine. That does not necessarily mean that we Jews will be improving; we shall be simply changing. And we have always been changing in that fashion, modifying our mannerisms to suit each new environment. . . .

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[1] Extract from an article, "Why Are Jews Like That?", in *The American Magazine* for January, 1929.

But one thing, it must be admitted, we have not changed, and that is our manner. One cannot easily define that Jewish manner; but neither can one easily deny its reality. It is the one fundamental thing about us that marks us as peculiar, the one quality that most distinguishes us from our neighbors. Were we lacking that distinctive air, were we an ordinary folk, we would not earn one tithe the publicity we get. For, after all, we Jews are exceedingly few in numbers; generously estimated, we make up less than three quarters of one per cent. of the population of the world. There are almost as many inhabitants in Burma alone as there are Jews on all five continents! Yet see how much talk there is about us continually. How many songs are sung, lies told, jokes cracked, sermons preached, and articles written about us year after year in almost every land on earth. And it has been that way for two thousand years or more. Though never mighty in size, we have always cast a mighty shadow. The patent reason for it is that we are a peculiar lot; we are *different*. Now this peculiarity in us is not biological. We Jews are in no sense a "pure" race differing in blood from all the other peoples of the earth. . . . Nor is it religious either, for many of the most famous (and most notorious) of Jews do not even remotely conform to Judaism. . . . Nor is it nationality. . . .

No, the one common denominator among us Jews that distinguishes us everywhere and always is not something biological, theological, nor political, but *psychological.* We Jews have a peculiar manner of reacting to the world, a manner bred in us so long, and still today so stimulated by the people around us, that we cannot possibly slough it off. And at the root of that manner is the inescapable feeling that you Gentiles still consider us "outsiders." . . .

Whether the cause be in the Jew or in the Gentile, the result is the same: the Jew has to remain a Jew whether he wants to or no. And that does something to him. The mere ordeal of keeping alive in spite of the world's hostility gives him that distinctive manner about which we've been speaking. The fact that he is *considered* different compels him to *be* different.

Now, the first and most pervasive symptom of this manner is a certain hypersensitiveness. We Jews are quick to see a slight, so quick, indeed, that often we see one where none is intended. But that is not to be wondered at. We've been harassed for so long that now our flesh is chronically raw, and we wince at the least gesture in our direction. We all admit this is a grievous fault in us, but we realize we are helpless to remedy it. For it is a fault not really of our own making. So long as we continue to be attacked or disdained, so long must we remain a chip-bearing people. . . .

It is because anti-Semitism continues to crop up even in this supposedly enlightened day that we Jews continue to be sensitive. And also because of anti-Semitism we exhibit our second most significant trait—intensity. We Jews are anything but an easy-going, leisurely folk. On the contrary, it is characteristic of us to attack life with a rush and a fury, for we realize that a Jew must push twice as hard to get half as far as a non-Jew. Therefore, whatever we attempt, be it the amassing of wealth or the measuring of stars, characteristically we attempt it impatiently. Of course, that does rob us of grace at times; it does sometimes make us a bit over-aggressive. But we simply *have* to be that way. In the first place, it is part of our heritage to work fast. For two thousand years we have been involuntary gypsies, forever driven from city to city and land to land. In the past, if a Jew wanted to have his own house, he had to build it quickly, for he knew that otherwise he might never be able to live in it. He was in incessant danger of deportation, and he dared not take his time.

It has become part of what one might call our inherited wisdom to be in a hurry. I do not mean that aggressiveness is to be found in our chromosomes, and that we inherit it like the color of our eyes. I have no doubt that a Jewish child reared from the moment of birth in a completely non-Jewish environment would, if never told of its origin, never grow to be especially aggressive. But if reared in the home of its own parents, the trait would have to crop out almost inevitably. Why? Simply because nervous haste is in the air in the Jewish home. From infancy we see parents and friends about us who act with a peculiar impulsiveness and react with a striking intensity, and from them we learn by imitation and emulation to do likewise.

And fortunate it is for us that we do learn it, for even today we still need to be excessively vigorous. The odds are still against us everywhere; not merely socially, but—and this is an infinitely graver matter—economically. . . .

We realize that only by becoming indispensable can we make ourselves acceptable, and therefore we work with such prodigious vigor. Undoubtedly we overdo it at times, pushing and crowding with obnoxiously indecorous haste. But you must expect that. After all, if you won't be fair, how can we be decorous?

Sensitiveness and aggressiveness: these are the two major traits in us Jews—and both are patently a result of our age-old struggle to survive amid hostility. Similarly, all our minor traits have their origin in that struggle. Take our so-called clannishness, for example. In reality we are not at all inordinately clannish. . . . Solely when we are attacked from without do we achieve any sort of solidarity within; for, like any other herd, we realize that when one of us is attacked, all of us are menaced.

That explains our intense family loyalty. It likewise explains our comparative extravagance in giving to charity. Finally, it explains our persistent tendency to live near each other and frequent the same gathering places. . . .

And again, only on the ground of the prejudice against us can one explain another of our secondary traits—our radicalism. There is no denying that we Jews as a group are especially prone to favor change in the present order. But what else can you expect? If the present order won't accept *us,* how can we accept *it?* In this respect we are like most other vigorous minorities. . . .

Finally, there is that most advertised of our traits, our intelligence (or, if you will, our shrewdness)—and that, too, can be explained by the life we have led. It is no wonder if we Jews seem to exhibit inordinately sharp wits, for, after all, during almost two thousand years we have had naught else to live by save wits. While all the other peoples on earth were toughening their muscles to fight their way out of danger, we Jews had to be developing our brains so that we could talk our way out of it. . . .

In the cities we were forced to live by trading, for practically all the industries were controlled by guilds which discriminated severely against Jews. We had to eke out an existence in the cracks between the boulders in the social structure; we had to be the middle-men. It was a hazardous profession, and to a high degree demeaning; but we were determined to keep alive and that was the one way we could do it. So we became the hucksters of civilization. . . .

But it must not be imagined that we Jews are good for nothing in the world but trading. Given the opportunity, we can and will go down to the soil and labor in it as tenaciously as any other people. The best proof of this is the amazing degree to which Jews have taken up farming within the last generation. . . .

If we Jews are still prevalently a folk living in cities and subsisting by trade, it is only because we haven't yet been able to outgrow our past. Everything about us, our vices as well as our virtues, our sensitiveness, aggressiveness, clannishness, and commercialism, as well as our progressiveness, sobriety, decency and intelligence—all these traits are the results of the life we have been made to lead.

8. THE JEWISH GIRL'S THOUGHTS ON JEWISH LIFE[1]

By Emily Solis-Cohen

FROM my records of three years' work with women's organizations in at least fifty Jewish communities of the Atlantic States, I shall read what girls have said to me, and in addition, portions of letters from the Middle West and South. This will give you photographs of the minds of Jewish girls who live from coast to coast in the United States and from Canada to New Orleans. Before looking at these photographs you must visualize the girls to know who they are, how I met them and the purpose of our coming together.

I am field worker for women's activities in the staff of the Jewish Welfare Board. In each community my work centers in the Y.W.H.A. I am not a propagandist, nor am

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[1] Extracts from an article under this title in the *United Synagogue Recorder* for October, 1925.

I an organizer. I visit an existing association on invitation because something prevents its adequate functioning. The girls know that I come to help. The greatest difficulty in the work is that a group thinks that it knows what you think, or what you think it should think and do. At first, therefore, you are apt to meet a stiff resistance, or an expression of what the group thinks you want to hear, or a defense of its own desires. So soon as it is realized that you have no prescription to offer in advance, but that you mean to study the entire situation before you attempt to advise, to find out what they have wanted for themselves, how they have tried to obtain their desires, and why they have failed, the girls become completely and unreservedly outspoken.

The inferred meanings of words differ with the experience of their users. We must, therefore, know what the girls mean by certain words and phrases. "Orthodox" is applied to themselves when their parents belong to orthodox synagogues, or are members of the East-European groups whether they attend a synagogue or not. "Semi-reform" describes those groups which call themselves conservative or traditional. "Reform," "Radical-reform," are the next groupings of those further removed from what is called "orthodox." "Rav" is not necessarily the chief rabbi of the orthodox community, but any orthodox rabbi. A "rabbi" is the minister of a Reform or semi-Reform Synagogue; therefore our ministers are in this group.

"Girls" apparently is the generic name for young women, aged anywhere from sixteen to forty, married or unmarried, whose parents are orthodox, who earn wages or small professional salaries, particularly if the income of the family is moderate, and their parentage that of Eastern Europe. In point of fact the active Y.W.H.A. membership is referred to as "the girls" by the community itself, which is a revelation of its attitude to the Association. "Women" apparently is the generic name for the married or unmarried, young or old, who consider themselves, or are considered by the girls, to be of their betters, either socially or financially. The word is always applied to persons deemed superior. In a homogeneous group, the women are married; or if unmarried, not wage earners. . . .

It is a human habit to search beyond ourselves for reasons for the failures of projects in which we engage, and for causes of untoward happenings. Even when we think that we ourselves are a bit to blame, we divert our attention to the shortcomings of others. . . . The Russian Jew; the Jew who is socialist; the Jew who is capitalist; the poor Jew; the alien Jew; the immigrant Jew; the ill-behaved Jew; the unintelligent orthodox; the Reform bigot. Everywhere one hears, "It's those people who bring trouble!"

Everywhere, did I say? May the girls for whom I speak forgive me. They, too, look beyond themselves. But they are more generous to us than we are to them or to each other. Is not the loss of faith in a dogma less devastating than that in a trusted person? Do not all youths find excuses for their elders, for those to whom they turn instinctively, and are urged to turn for wisdom and guidance? And so these girls, although they smart under prejudice; although they feel that the odds are against their struggle in their communities for opportunities for recreation, education, even happiness; although they are conscious of disabilities, they do not find fault with us, with their parents, with their rabbis, with their leaders. They find excuses for Jews—and they lay the blame—shall I tell you where? *On Judaism.*

But let them speak to you themselves. I begin to quote.

"Girls do not count in Jewish life. What does it matter about us? It's the boys they educate first. But you understand, it's not their fault, it's been instilled in them. Judaism doesn't think much of women."

"Go to synagogue? No, we don't. Why should we? What's there in synagogue for us? We're girls. It's only married women who go. Even the boys don't, except on holidays, when father buys seats for them. Does he buy any for us? No, we sit home and wait for them to come back, or we do as we please."

"Yes, we do work on Sabbath, but that's not why we don't go. We wouldn't go anyhow. What have the synagogues ever done for us? We might as well be in the Catholic church, for all the rabbis in this place care."

"Form a group to study Jewish history and religion? You say that a woman does count in Jewish law? Who's to teach us? We would like to learn. We've tried to get leaders. Ask one of the rabbis? They're too busy, and anyhow you know how it is. We are orthodox. Rav says we might as well be "goi" as to go to the semi-reform or reform."

And, in another place,—"Didn't you hear what happened? The Y.M. boys went to him and asked him to teach them. He said, 'If you don't know anything about your religion by now, how can I help you?' Would we girls have a chance after that?"

It was a "rabbi," not a Rav, of whom this was told, in another community,—"You know the last time you were here, you suggested we have a Jewish history group. We got Rabbi X down to lead it, but it lasted only three meetings."

"What was the trouble?" I asked, thinking this time it was the girls whose interest lagged.

"Look at this room; it's cold and uninviting. He said it was too dark. Anyhow, he gave us three weeks to get more girls. Only eight of us came, and he said it was a waste of his time. I guess he is busy, and eight girls are awfully few for him." . . .

"It was fine, those services. A young people's service, for and by young people. Some of the boys read the service. We had a rabbi come to help us; and some of the girls read, too."

I questioned that reading by girls. It was responsive? "Yes, some. But what I mean is that a girl went up and read from the Bible. It was the first time most of us ever heard a service. It was great. Father laughed at me when I said I was going. But do you know what he did? He sneaked in himself, and I didn't see him, just to see what it was like. He said it was wonderful."

And now listen to the story of what happened; and of what threatens to happen, oh, so often. This is the first time I heard the girls blame any one.

"The rabbis of this place ought to be ashamed of themselves. They stopped our services." I was aghast. "Why?"

"They couldn't agree which kind of a service we were to have. Some of them said we ought to go to the synagogue and that we were drawing from them. Really, we weren't. None of those who came to us would have gone to them anyhow." One shrewd miss added, "If they let us alone, we'd be all right. You know if you go to service, you get used to it, and then when you marry, you wouldn't want to be going to the Y; you'd join some synagogue. We are helping the rabbis, if they only knew it." . . .

"We don't count. Our parents educate our brothers. Those of us who want to learn are too few to be bothered with. The rabbis don't care. The synagogues have no place for us. When we do get together with our brothers and have services, the rabbis close them down. But what else can Jewish girls expect? That's the way of Judaism."

I have met girls who attend synagogue services on Friday night. They are quick to say, "It's as comfortable at that synagogue as at the movies. Rabbi X. is an interesting preacher. We don't see any point in joining one of the synagogues here. There are several we like to go to. And don't think it's for religious reasons. Religion hasn't anything to do with us. We go where the boys are. But you understand how it is. A girl must look out for herself."

You laugh. But why? Is this search for one's mate from synagogue to synagogue, from place of Jewish assembly to place of Jewish assembly reprehensible and untraditional? What of the time of the afternoon sacrifices on Yom Kippur in the Temple? Was it not traditional on that day of days for girls to exchange frocks that all might be clothed alike and no distinction of purse be noticeable? For then the young men went a-wooing.

Even if it were not wholesomely traditional but merely human to go to synagogue to woo and be wooed, it is a custom that must not be laughed out of the observing. I have no statistics on intermarriage. I can report that I rarely meet a group that does not talk of it. I shall put to you questions that are asked of me again and again. These are in reply to my question, "What is your greatest problem?"

"The boys are pigs. They don't take us to dances. They go with a *shiksa* any time instead. What can we do?"

"I am going with a *shegitz*. The Jewish boys don't ask us and we can't sit at home forever. A girl does want to jazz."

"Why do most Jewish men marry Catholic girls?" *Most,* mind you, in her experience. . . .

"Our meeting place is a building for Jewish entertainment and meeting place. It has been used by the older people until recently when it dawned on us" (mark you, it had to wait to dawn on them) "that we must all keep together. You see the majority of the Jewish girls are associating with Gentile boys and the Jewish boys are associating with Gentile girls. One of our aims is to unite the young generation, and have a mutual understanding that they must stick together. We depend on the Jewish boys and they on us."

This is not the wisdom of an elder. The writer of the letter just quoted is an officer of a Y.W.H.A. . . .

I meet constantly and in surprising numbers girls who will not work on Sabbath because of their own inner conviction. Others observe "not to hurt mother," but they do not care. The majority neither care nor observe. They say, "Mother keeps kosher but says she doesn't expect us to." They add, "Mother lights candles and all that, but what is that for us?" . . .

"What do you think I did? I am so ashamed. I said I was a Unitarian. I said I was Ethical Culture. To get a job. I have to work. I have to help home; my brothers are going to college. It's no use signing you're a Jew. Even Jews don't take you. The agent said, 'You'd better not put down you're a Jew. I can't get you work. If Jews ask us to send Gentiles, how can I ask Gentiles to take Jews?' "

Don't begin to say, that's prejudice of Jew for Jews; of Gentile for Jew. If I write on paper or say that I am a Unitarian, and I possess the same mannerisms, the same looks, everything that makes for prejudice, what alters? The agent knows, the employer knows, I know, that I am a Jew. The one fact is assured. I will not observe Sabbath, and two days Yomtov.

If you wish verification, ask employment bureaus; ask Y.W.C.A.'s; ask employers; ask yourselves. I sat at a banquet and a leader of Jewish life was admonishing the youth to be Jewishly-conscious, proud, fine Jews. And a girl near me giggled, and she giggled. Then she said, "He tells the agencies not to send him Jewish help. Listen to the guy. He can't pull that stuff over on me. . . ."

9. JEWISH ANTI-SEMITISM[1]

By Elma Ehrlich Levinger

FIRST to arrive, the Spanish or Sephardic Jews are a small and ever-diminishing group of our "first" families. For a while they looked down upon the upstart Ashkenazim or German Jews with contempt. They would not worship together, and intermarriage between the two groups was frowned upon. (The curious reader may find the situation handled in a delightfully farcical manner by the late Israel Zangwill in his *King of Schnorrers.*) Now, except for several synagogues in the East, this group which traces its descent to certain proud houses of Spain and Portugal, is entirely merged with the two groups of the later immigrations.

From 1840-1880 came the German group, still accounted the most influential by virtue of wealth, organization, and leadership; although the wealth and influence of the German wing, like that of the entire Jewish population, has been greatly exaggerated. Many of these first German immigrants were poor peddlers, though few were as wretched as the East European Jews who were to follow. A solid, not over-imaginative, group, with all of the virtues and a few of the faults of the Fatherland.

Never having known religious persecution, they were without religious fanaticism. Family loyalty, as strong in the German as in the Jew, rather than religious prejudice has kept them from intermarriage with the Gentile Americans whose culture and civilization were so akin to their own background. Never having known real absolutism, they shuddered at the soap-box radicalism of the Russian Jew. Thoroughly at ease in their Zion of the west, they soon erased from their prayer books petitions for the restoration of the Zion and the Temple of their ancestors. Their Russian cousins might get up at midnight to weep over the destruction of Jerusalem; the German, self-conscious and with little imagination, slept through the night and on the Sabbath hired a rabbi to pray for him, all Israel, and the President and officers of the United States. He seldom knew he was a Jew on week days unless he tried to buy a house in an exclusive suburb, doubly attractive to his eyes, because he would be the only Semite in the neighborhood. He never hated the Gentiles for their snubbing; he seldom disliked even Russian Jews.

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[1] Extract from an article in *Forum* for May, 1928, p. 738 *et seq.*

A comfortable person all around both in politics and religion, even though he soon became a radical in the latter, accepting Reform—or as some of its adherents prefer calling it, Liberal Judaism. Although born in Germany, Liberal Judaism was so American, and these newcomers were so anxious to be thoroughly American. A kind of Unitarianism, as it has been called, it imposed few restrictions on these rapidly Americanized citizens. They need not keep their own Sabbath, they could forsake the dietary laws and dine—should they be fortunate enough to be invited—with their Gentile neighbors. Without the intensive Hebrew training of the East European Jew it was so much easier to pray first in German, then in English, then as seldom as possible. Hence the paradox of the conservative in economics and politics, turning radical in religion.

But there is a greater paradox of Jewish anti-Semitism. Once when I was on a visit to a certain Jewish settlement, a shrewd little inhabitant of that section, which newspaper men call often and erroneously the Ghetto, expressed her racial philosophy in a nutshell. "Are you a German Jew or a real Jew?" she asked.

No wonder the Russian Jew, coming from the mediævalism of Eastern Europe, views the German Jew with feelings dangerously close to hatred and is regarded in turn with a half-amused contempt. To this group, by far the largest in numbers, although not in wealth or social standing—since the Russians began their mass migration as recently as 1880—the thoroughly Americanized Jew from Germany is a mere man-of-the-earth, an ignoramus, a heathen. To the Russian Jew, his faith—grown dearer through persecution—was never a garment to drop at the threshold of Ellis Island. . . .

Among this orthodox group we find the tragic contradiction of the father praying three times a day in one of the dingy little synagogues which spring up around the east side like mushrooms, the house-mother separating her milk and meat dishes with old-world piety, while the sons and daughters, forced by economic pressure to desecrate their Sabbath with toil, soon learn to mock the practices they no longer understand. Some of these young people "go radical"; they become Socialists, or if caught early enough, Zionists. It is doubtful whether they would deny their Judaism even if they could. But the prayers in a language which they cannot understand fall on deaf ears; if they attend the synagogue it is usually to repeat the Kaddish prayer in respect to the dead parents whose creed they could not follow. Others, especially when the parents have relaxed somewhat in their old-world piety and have turned "conservative" (the conservative congregation being the half-way house between the rocky road of strict orthodoxy and the primrose path of reform) accept this compromise with American conditions, shaving, working on the Sabbath, but insisting that their wives serve the kosher meals of their mothers, their children attend the Talmud Torah (daily Hebrew school) which their fathers once found sufficient for all educational needs, religious and secular. Still others drift toward the Reform Temple as soon as their economic condition secures a place for them in the coveted heaven of German Jewish society. In fact, so closely are the spiritual and social graces linked that in many cities no Russian Jew is admitted into the sacred precincts of the (Jewish) country club until he has first joined the Reform Temple. "A man with an accent can't play golf," said a third generation American Jew recently when blackballing a recently arrived Russian.

We have spoken of the "radical," who to some outsiders seems to predominate among New York Jews, chiefly because radicals usually insist upon being noisy. He is generally an idealist, not enough at ease in the commercial Zion of America to forget the oppressions both religious and political which well-nigh broke his spirit in his European home. For the mad Russian, it cannot be repeated too often, is just as much the result of his early environment as the smug German is of his.

Last of all come the drifters. Many of them begin by changing their names and calling their youngsters Jack (after Grandfather Jacob) or Shirley (after Grandma Sarah) unless they meet Gentiles who prefer the now fashionable Bible names. They issue cookbooks for charity in which recipes for cooking "ham à la Southern" are not lacking; sometimes they even resort to facial surgery, but not often, for as some ribald Hebrew wit recently put it: "You may not believe in Moses, but you cannot change your noses."

But every one of these brethren, from the gentlemen who recently donated that ancient symbol of his people, the menorah (seven-branched candlestick), to the Cathedral of St. John, to the lady who actually gives up her Wednesday night bridge club because she can't miss her testimonials to Mother Eddy, are bound by a chain which they cannot or will not break. Sometimes they forget—when the world permits them—but let them be attacked as a race, and even the most disloyal or careless Jewish heart is stirred.

10. HOW TO CORRECT ANTI-SEMITISM AMONG JEWISH CHILDREN [1]

A LETTER

DEAR MADAM:

The problem which you mention in your letter is one which many parents face; and it is as varied in its manifestations as there are differences in home situations. In your case it is aggravated, it seems, by the fact that the two boys have already passed the age at which remedial efforts are most easily applied; nevertheless, they are by no means too old to learn.

The question is: What really is it you want them to learn? Presumably, you want them (1) to recognize that in the Jewish community all the differences of character and temperament are to be found that may be seen in the community at large—though, possibly in different proportions. You want them (2) to respect their own family and to be proud rather than ashamed of the biological strands that have gone into its making. Probably, quite irrespective of their own membership of the Jewish group, you want (3) to see your sons free from any prejudices that limit the opportunities of helpful and enjoyable association and interfere with the recognition of human worth wherever it may appear.

The first task would seem to involve a purely factual element: In so far as the boys' understanding of what the Jews (more particularly, the Jews of America) are, is mistaken, they have to be better informed. This does not, however, mean that the task consists merely in providing corrective information, in the form of literature, lectures or the like. Probably such information has been available all along, but that it has not been absorbed or has failed in its effect of giving true understanding is due to an emotional barrier which must be removed before insistence upon facts can succeed in removing misunderstanding.

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[1] An answer to a letter from a Jewish woman of education who asked for advice on the following problem: "I have two sons, sixteen and twenty years old, who have a very bitter antagonism to their own race. They do not want to be associated with what they think is a despised race. All their friends are Christians, and if ever they meet any Jewish boys or girls, they will have nothing to do with them."

We then come to the question: What, precisely, are those emotional barriers? They lie, of course, in the association of Jewishness with unpleasant experiences. Not knowing the family circumstances or the early upbringing of these boys, I cannot tell what these experiences were. But I can make a guess at some of them: Presumably, in their own family, they learned from early childhood that those relatives and those friends of the family who were most Jewish in looks, speech and habits were the least admired—either because they did not share greatly in the things that make for the sort of "success" which people discuss with pride and enthusiasm, or because their appearance, speech, habits and ideas were more outlandish than those of the more admired members of the immediate set. For the child, everything that departs from the things he is accustomed to is of less value; whatever is—in his own set—is right. Owing to the war and subsequent developments—the wave of spurious Americanism that has surged through our schools and our whole public life—this attitude of contempt or derision for all things not truly "American" (in the most limited and prejudiced meaning of that term) has been exaggerated beyond its normal expression. Our children are especially intolerant of things that do not conform to the superficial appearances of the dominant American middle-class civilization.

All three of the stated problems, therefore, necessitate a re-conditioning of attitudes and feelings. Mere correction of erroneous opinions does not help. The problem is, rather, how to break up unfavorable mental associations and to create favorable ones—or, how to re-direct the habitual responses to words, sights, and experiences connected with Jewishness.

This emotional re-education may proceed in the most varied ways. Among adolescents, it sometimes takes the form of a sudden conversion under the impulse of a particular occasion of deep excitement. But even then a steady stream of helpful influences is needed to secure the canalization of associations in the desired direction until habits of favorable response are assured. I can only make a few suggestions of influences that have been found helpful. These do not, of course, constitute a program, and they are impotent against counter-currents of a stronger emotional appeal. For example, if among the youthful sets with which these boys are now intimately connected, anti-Jewish feeling is strong, almost nothing that parents can do, short of breaking up that connection, will be potent enough to counteract its prejudicial influence.

First, then, we require a favorable setting for new experience: The boys should frequently be brought into pleasant contacts with Jews who not only are, on grounds of abstract justice, to be highly esteemed, but who really are esteemed by persons whose judgment the boys respect. To have met a great Jewish scientist, for example, is something to brag about, not to be ashamed of. And the fact that he is Jewish need not be stressed; after a number of such pleasant occasions it will naturally occur to the adolescents that these are people of his own race, that they reflect credit upon that race.

Contacts with less highly esteemed Jews in situations that show them in the most favorable light also are desirable. To see shabby Jewish immigrants, with long beards, on a street lined with pushcarts is one thing. To see the same Jews on a festive holiday occasion, in their picturesque prayer shawls, engaged in a noble ceremonial, is another. You may object that the modern cynical attitude toward old religious rituals is one of the elements in the contempt of Jewishness, and that this contempt would therefore be strengthened by such experiences. I do not believe it would. Our present younger generation is far enough removed from the ghetto to be able to look at it without the emotional reaction of those who have but recently escaped from it into a freer way of life and thought. Unless their education has left them altogether superficial in the appreciation of cultural values, they will have at least a little taste for remnants of the past that survive in our age through the grandeur of their historical associations. If they have at least a little of that æsthetic urge which is so characteristic of Jews everywhere—if they are in the habit of discovering for themselves things of beauty—they will, under discreet guidance, see, even in the less favorable of Jewish environments, elements of beauty which transcend the squalor of mean streets. I believe we should send our young people out on expeditions of that sort under qualified leadership—perhaps that of some Jewish sociologist with antiquarian and artistic interests. He would point out the significance, and therewith the beauty, of many things which average men pass by without seeing. The mere reading of the names of Jewish clubs and congregations indicates something of the richness of backgrounds and aspirations. The Jewish faces reflect all the phases of Jewish dispersion and race mixture, calling up memories of old civilizations. Some of their shops illustrate old traditions of craft and learning.

Contacts of a less direct type are not quite so effective but sometimes a good second best. Let them read Harry Fosdick or John Haynes Holmes about Palestine, if they are prejudiced against Jewish authors. Let them, if they are philosophically inclined, trace the influence of Spinoza on modern thought as non-Jewish philosophers have outlined it. Let them experience pleasure in reading books, seeing works of art, great buildings, hearing symphonies and poems—only casually to learn that the creative artists whose work they enjoy are Jews.

This does not mean that I advocate a constant stressing of Jewish achievements in comparison with those of other racial or religious groups—far from it. But it is human to feel a little pride if we can think of ourselves as in some way related to those who do fine things. "He is a Cohen too," or "his father came from the same town as our grandfather," or merely, "my mother went to school with her"—these are normal and wholesome links between the individual and his social setting.

It is important to be absolutely realistic in these things, not an apologist or panegyrist for one's own group. In the past, Jews have often prided themselves on being better than other people; and, being socially distant from them, they have been able to maintain this conviction. Today, because of the much closer contacts between the different groups, racial pride has to rest on something more tangible than difference re-enforced by tradition. And, insofar as Jews as a group are in many respects far from superior and, objectively stated, inferior to other people, it is best to admit the facts—best, that is, if the facts are faced with self-disparagement but with the aim of self-appraisal as a preliminary to self-improvement. And that means that those characteristics of the Jew—or of some Jews—which have given him a bad reputation among his neighbors should be recognized historically as well as factually. Our young people will no longer be ashamed of being Jews if they understand Jewish deficiencies as the outcome of specific experiences of the Jewish people (by no means always self-willed) and if they recognize them as in process of change. We are ashamed of a seemingly inherent inferiority; we are not ashamed of an inferiority which we recognize as manifestly temporary and in process of disappearance.

In short, what our young people should be made to feel is that what they, together with their Gentile friends, deplore in Jewish manners or morals are elements in a changing situation; and that this situation is one through which many other peoples, now highly esteemed, have passed.

More important still is that they should be helped to see themselves as part of this changing situation, inside and not outside of it and, perhaps, the more dynamically related to the change because they are able to review the situation critically. By this I mean that we can help our children see themselves as in the line of a progressive evolution of their own people in which not only the varying circumstances but the partly constant and partly changing ideals of their ancestors have played their part. I believe that Jewish parents often make the mistake of discussing in the presence of their children only those of the older or passing generation in the family who might, by present-day standards, be held to be estimable people. They should instead permit the children to have as complete as possible a picture of the circumstances, on both sides of the family, out of which those of their immediate family circle have grown. While the mantle of charity should cover that uncle who did little credit to the family or that cousin whose manners are mortifying, nevertheless, they belong in the total picture if it is to be both real and moving.

To conceive of himself as a member of a race, a group, a family, which has carried through its varying fortunes some power of progress which has at times lifted it high among its neighbors and at others has barely enabled it to resist disintegration, is not enough. Our cynical youngsters must in some way be helped to see themselves charged with a responsibility which they cannot shirk even if they would, Just because they are on the edge of Judaism, so to speak, they are part of the pioneering front rank which determines the direction which the change of the whole group shall take.

In short, sound race pride involves positive, not only negative, attitudes. The worldly wise cynic is a poor fool who cheats himself out of his heritage. The Jewish youth today turns cynic where he does not feel himself in possession of a worthwhile heritage. The religious symbolism of the past does not appeal to him. The artistic traditions of his people he recognizes as composed of odds and ends from other national cultures. The present standing of even prominent Jews among their Gentile neighbors does not strike him as conveying the sort of prestige which he particularly cares for. To be known as a member of any religious or racial minority group seems in itself to limit the range of larger opportunities compared with the seeming limitlessness of the possibilities open to the unlabeled American.

And yet, by judicious comparisons, our youth can be made to feel that this is not absolutely true. For example, a special prestige undoubtedly attaches to those known as members of the Quaker community; and, curiously enough, the very name of that sect signalizes a group which but a short century ago was generally derided. A special prestige attaches to those known as members of old Yankee families; and, curiously enough, here, also, the very name was at one time a derisive nickname applied to a little provincial group of peddlers, as homely and unprepossessing in their ways as any "Yid" in western Europe. Is it not possible, with such examples as these in mind, that in the days to come a special prestige will attach to those who belong to the Jewry of America and of the world? What makes this a possibility is precisely that the Jewish group as a whole is in process of change. It already has to a large extent overcome the handicaps and limitations of physical and mental character acquired in the compulsory ghetto. It is today on the way to overcoming those faults that have resulted from too rapid and onesided a process of liberation. To be a Jew today unquestionably means to belong to a rapidly ascending group—no matter whether our standards of measurement be those of physical improvement, of success in the arts and sciences, or of moral and social leadership in the world. But we still have to work on the techniques of education which will make recognition of that undoubted fact a stimulant rather than a cause of complacent self-satisfaction.

This leads me to the last of the practical hints which I set out to offer: We must, without preachment and without the smallest shadow of insincerity, re-introduce into our American-Jewish way of life recognition for unchanging values which in the very process of being named "spiritual" or "ethical" or "religious" are so apt to acquire a note of affectation. Perhaps we may safely speak, however, of the poetic quality of our race without being accused by our cynical young of re-introducing hoary superstitions that do not square with the findings of Freud or Koffka or Whitehead or whatever psychologist or philosopher may be the present rage. I believe that when introduced by a series of experiences to this thing, this continuing poetic or Messianic quality of Jewish life and thought, and not by talk about it, when he realizes it in other Jews and in himself, the young American Jew will be stimulated at least to open his mind to other influences liable to change his unbelief in (if not shame of) the Jewish race. If by seeing a great Jewish play, by reading a great Jewish philosopher, or by discussing the totality of his impressions about the Jewish people with other young Jews, he can be induced to adopt a more reflective attitude, to permit his intelligence and not prejudices borrowed from others to form his judgments—then the door will be open to other re-educational learnings which eventually will break down even a hardened antagonism.

An attempt to effect such learning by substituting our own judgments for the judgments of youth is bound to fail anyhow, in this day of disrespect for adults and their opinions. But to attempt it is educationally wrong also because it merely re-conditions the reactions of a growing mind; it does not help to immunize it against other deleterious influences. Our aim, in other words, is a mistaken one if, merely for our own convenience or from the point of view of our own judgments, we would bring our young people through pressure of cumulative influences to a different opinion of the Jewish people. To be in harmony with the vitality of all true education, our aim should rather be to free the mind of youth from those obstructions that prevent it from facing life as an experience to be appraised anew at each successive step.

To free our children from one prejudice which we recognize as such means that we must free them from all prejudices —even those which perchance we ourselves are cherishing. Are we willing to do that? Are we willing to take the risk that in a truly adventurous quest for truth our children will break away even more completely from cherished traditions that have grown around the original nexus of Jewish life and thought in the varied history of the Diaspora? If so, the path is clear for an entirely new type of Jewish leadership which will take nothing for granted as value except what it can recognize and utilize as of value now.

Perhaps the time has come when we, who think of ourselves as moderns, shall deplore our own intolerance to Jewishness, as much as we deplore the intolerance with which another section of Jewry clings to its mixture of notions old and relatively new, good and bad, wholesome and pernicious; and when our children, more judicious than either, will want to sift for themselves the essentials of a Jewish way of life worthy of the new era of world fellowship in which, increasingly, all false values of human achievement will be seen as the counterfeit they are.

I have, I am afraid, burdened you, dear Madam, with the reading of a much longer letter than you invited. But then, you set me a problem for which any proffered simple solution is necessarily a fake solution. Thus you have given me the opportunity to think out more clearly what practical answer one might make to others who are faced with the same difficulty which you have put before me.

Yours sincerely,
BRUNO LASKER.

11. JEWS AND THE NEEDLE INDUSTRY[1]

By S. M. MELAMED

TO THE present day, the needle industry, although no longer monopolized by the Jew, is the economic background of American Jewry. The following figures indicate best to what extent the American Jew, especially the New York Jew, is still dependent on the needle industry.

In the year 1925 there were in America 16,411 proprietors of manufacturing plants who earned $598,299,880.

58,367 salaried employees earned $124,758,872.

399,821 workers earned $664,614,390.

Of the 16,411 establishments, 1,025 establishments were located in New York City.

The value of men's and women's clothing in 1923 was $2,585,398,566 or equivalent to $23.50 per person in a population of 110,000,000. Only five or six years ago 95% of all manufacturers were Jews and the Unions of the needle industry were considered Jewish unions, the overwhelming majority of the membership having been Jewish. Today this is no longer the case. In Rochester, for instance, the majority of the unions and the needle industry is already non-Jewish. Italians, Poles and Negroes have displaced the Jew. In New York the proportion is sixty to forty, and in Chicago it is fifty-fifty. The decline is both steady and rapid. Among manufacturers, too, there are already many non-Jews whose number is increasing daily. In the course of the next five years, the Unions of the needle industry will cease to be Jewish unions, because the overwhelming majority of the membership will consist of Gentiles. The Jewish garment and cloak manufacturer, on the other hand, will still keep on, but it is more than doubtful if his children will continue the tradition. . . .

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[1] Extracts from an article in *The Reflex,* August, 1927, p. 4.

The labor unions of the needle industry in America are daily growing less Jewish. In the year 1919, soon after the war, the unions were all packed with Jewish labor. Then the decline began. It goes without saying that the stoppage of emigration from Eastern Europe has been an important factor. But the temperamental attitude of the Jewish laborer to his trade is largely responsible. Since he is not a tailor by choice but by chance, he not only gets out of the trade himself as soon as he possibly can, but he never teaches his son his trade. The end of the Jewish labor union in America is thus in sight. . . .

To some it may matter little whether the needle industry of America is controlled by Jews or not. But to those who are concerned with the future of the American Jew it matters a great deal. It is not necessary that all American Jews become business men or professional men. It will be a sad day for American Jewry when the last Jewish working man will leave his shop and his tools. In the tailor shop the Jewish working man competed with no one else. When he will leave the shop and invade the field of the retailer, the meddler, the promoter or the real estate man, he will tread upon somebody's corn. The result can only be an intensified Anti-Jewish *Stimmung.*

12. SYMPTOMS OF ASSIMILATION[1]

By MAURICE FISHBERG, M.D.

OF THE religious ordinances, which among Jews are part and parcel of life itself, perhaps the most important deterrents to assimilation have been the Jewish holidays, including the Sabbath, and the dietary laws.

The ideal of national unity is that in addition to being subjected to the same common laws and having the same national tendencies and aspirations, the population should work harmoniously together, and rest together; all should celebrate the same holidays; all should, when free from the tasks of life, enjoy the days of rest together. Sympathy, love, and affection are best engendered when people, especially the young, play and enjoy themselves together. To be sure, such ideals cannot be attained in modern industrial States, for obvious reasons. However, as long as the Jews, almost without exception, rested on Saturday when others were active, and worked on Sunday, when others rested and relaxed, they were a distinctive part of the population. In modern industrial States such conditions, if involving a large proportion of the population, as in New York, Chicago, Boston, etc., would, for obvious reasons, create important economic problems in addition to the separatism it would impose on the Jews. But while there are some Jews who still keep separate in this respect in Western Europe and America, the vast majority, especially those of native birth, do not adhere to the Jewish Sabbath. With the exception of three days annually, the Day of Atonement and the two days of the New Year, the bulk of the Jews have assimilated to the extent of resting during the days when the non-Jewish population rests.

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[1] Extracts from an article, "Assimilation," in *The Menorah Journal* for February, 1920.

The Jewish dietary laws have been even stronger deterrents to assimilation. Very few appreciate the extent to which these dietary laws have kept the Jews a separate and distinct group of the population. You cannot make friends of those at whose table you cannot partake of a meal. Those who obey the dietary laws must avoid food which has not been prepared in accord with the Biblical and rabbinical injunctions. Even food which has been prepared in accordance with all these laws, but which is served on dishes which have been used by non-Jews, cannot be consumed by Orthodox Jews. The social separatism which these dietary laws engender is far-reaching. When young men and women cannot eat at one table they do not come into such intimate social contact as to render intermarriage possible. . . .

Radical changes in this regard, however, have taken place among the Jews in Europe and America. But a small fraction of the Jewish population manifest separatist tendencies as regards the Sabbath and holidays. Recent changes in economic conditions, the development of modern industrial methods, which preclude machinery working seven days a week or running factories with but part of the workers engaged, etc., have brought it about that the Jew must work or keep his business running on Saturday, and rest on Sunday. A Jew who wants to keep the Sabbath is debarred from working in any of the public service activities, such as railroads, telegraphs, etc. The result is that nearly all Jewish workers are active on Saturday and resting on Sunday; the exceptions, which may be found everywhere, are so small in number as to be considered negligible.

Constituting a minority of the population in European and American countries, the Jews can only follow the rigid laws of Judaism when they implicitly obey all. It appears that when any link in the chain is severed, or even merely weakened, the entire structure suffers or collapses and, inasmuch as there are no racial barriers, coalescence goes on more or less rapidly. It is well known that once Jews relax in regard to the Sabbath and the holidays, symptoms of greater leniency as regards the separatist tenets of Judaism begin to manifest themselves. Thus, as an isolated and alien group of men and women amidst strange and often hostile people, the Jews in Europe before the middle of the past century had their own calendar, not only for religious purposes, but also for dating letters and documents. Things have now changed. Even among young men and women more or less intensely interested in Jews and Judaism, there are but few who know which year this is according to the Jewish era; and it would surprise me if one out of a thousand intelligent Jews taken at random in New York or Boston could date a letter according to the Jewish calendar without consulting an almanac. They have evidently assimilated—the calendar of the country is their calendar.

If we should judge by the fact that most of the Jews buy their meats in shops which allege, or guarantee, that the animals were slaughtered in accordance with the Jewish ritual, we might arrive at the conclusion that they still implicitly obey the dietary laws. On the other hand, careful observation of Jewish life seems to indicate that these dietary laws are no longer a bar to social intercourse between Jews and Christians in this country. Just visit any large restaurant in New York City and note the number of Jews who eat there.

It appears to me that the intensity of the compliance with these laws is in inverse ratio to the prosperity of the Jews. Prosperity, material, intellectual, or social, liberates the Jew from the yoke of these anti-social laws. I am told that there exists a first-class Jewish and *Kosher* restaurant in the financial district of New York City. But all over that city it appears that there is no demand for one. If there were, it would be supplied. An attempt was made to run a first-class *Kosher* hotel in New York City several years ago. But it failed. This strong dietary barrier to social intercourse between Jews and Christians is being swept away more rapidly than is generally appreciated. . . .

It is thus clear that nearly all the factors effective in the direction of separatism, of isolation, which are strong barriers to assimilation, are more or less rapidly being removed by the Jews as far as lies within their power to do so; as far as the Church and State are powerless to interfere in modern countries. From the social standpoint the Jews are trying their utmost to adapt themselves to their surroundings, adopting the language, customs and habits of their non-Jewish neighbors, and to remove all the stigmata which in the past have kept them apart from the non-Jewish majority around them.

13. PREJUDICE AND LITERATURE[1]

By ABRAM SIMON

PREJUDICE lives longest in literature. Literature has an immortal memory. The greater the literature, the more perfect is the embalming of the quick and the dead. A calumny lives longest if interred in the greatest literary masters. From the standpoint of literature, I should divide the prejudices against the Jew in three groups. First, those resulting from the Crucifixion story in the New Testament; second, those resulting from the Merchant of Venice; third, those resulting from the Antisemitic scholarship of racial theories "Made in Germany." . . .

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[1] Extracts from a pamphlet, *Jew and Christian—Can They Understand Each Other?*, Washington Hebrew Congregation, 1922.

An average Christian child cannot take his eyes from the trickling blood of nailed hands without resting them in resentment upon the Jewish child as Christ-killer. With the very best of intentions to the contrary, the psychology of seeing blood creates bad blood. No Christian child leaves the Crucifixion with a sense of deepening affection for the Jewish child, or even in one of pitying forgiveness of "Father forgive them; they know not what they do." I believe that because of the advance of education, the Crucifixion story will lose the potency for prejudice that it wielded in the Middle Ages. There are some Christians, and I hope the number may be multiplied, who sincerely declare that the Crucifixion brings to them no reaction of ill-will against the Jew. Nothing would please me more than to find myself absurdly wrong in linking this story with the history of dislike toward us. . . .

Nor would I have you believe that all of the Jews denied Jesus. The testimony of the New Testament is that his disciples were our people, that the common people heard him gladly, and that his entrance into Jerusalem was an ovation from the multitude, singing Hosannas and waving palms. That individual and influential priests may or may not have liked him no more justifies the hatred for Jews today than the shocking tortures of Savonarola, Wycliffe, Huss and other martyrs should hold to future execration the religious followers of Christian fanaticism. . . .

Nor was there anything in the teachings of Jesus that could be construed as in violent contradiction to the best Jewish thought of the age. There were likely some who opposed his teaching just as today the restrictions of prohibition and Puritanism have violent antagonists. What certain

Jewish leaders objected to at that time, and what they later on refused to accept, was the coalescence of Jesus, the man, with Christ, the Divine Atonement. . . . On the basis of Jesus, a Jew, in line with the highest flights of ancient prophetic teachings, lover of God and lover of his fellowmen, Jew and Christian may find an ampler platform for mutual understanding.

I am free to confess that there is no hatred or revenge in the heart of the Jew because of the past nineteen centuries of suffering and prejudice which the ceaseless rehearsal of the Crucifixion naturally inspired. Gladly would the Jew wipe from the tablets of memory the stain of all the tears and torments of the past. If only these past centuries had been more sunny! The proscriptions of Church and State, Inquisitions and Papal Bulls and Ritual Murder accusations drove out of the Synagogue a kindlier understanding of the name and the message of Jesus and of Christianity. In other words, the Christian Church did not permit Jesus to win any Synagogue appreciation. Were there fewer exhibitions of the Passion Play and less association of persecution with the name of the Prince of Peace, I am certain that there would come of necessity a closer social rapprochement between Jew and non-Jew. . . .

We shall never be able to measure the ocean of ill-will, suspicion and mistrust for which the Merchant of Venice is directly responsible. If only the majestic genius of Shakespeare had not created such a misrepresentation! The constructive imagination of Shakespeare fashioned an individual, placed him in Ghetto, dressed him in a gabardine, made him a victim of Middle Age proscription and hatred, engraved on his face and in his heart the lines and weaknesses which a cramped experience generated and called him Shylock, a son of Israel. Shylock met the level of the gallery gods of the seventeenth century. We will never cease resenting this caricature of things Jewish. No matter how we may endeavor to gloss over the behavior of Shylock, he still remains an avaricious money lender of Venice, and not typical of the Jews of Jerusalem or of the United States. Even if we attribute to Shakespeare the desire to make a universal appeal of sympathy for the Jew, the fact remains that Shylock is distasteful to our religious and social sensibilities.

Shakespeare had no other purpose than to show the limits of a character developed under hatred and persecution. He places in glaring contrast the two noble ideals of justice and love. In order to bring both of them into striking and conflicting relief, he presents the former as embodied in the Jew, and the latter incarnated in the Christian. In order that Shylock may be an adequate representative of Justice, he must be greedy of money, bent on revenge, a hater of the Christian, and a seeker of the pound of flesh. I ask any fair-minded man if these vices are characteristic of Jews any more than they are of Christians? . . .

A third source of indiscriminate prejudice against our people comes from the double proclamation of the superior Aryan over the Semitic race, and the alleged commitment of the Jews to Capitalism. These two charges were born in the German universities. Great scholars hatched them in their fevered brains. They are the disreputable children of the Franco-Prussian war. To attempt an explanation of both of these indictments would take us far afield. My purpose is to portray, and not to give a dissertation on racial and economic philosophies. Suffice it to say that the German scholars have given us a new apotheosis of race. The long-headed, fair-haired, blue-eyed race of Aryans most creatively expressed in the supremacy of the Teuton is in direct contrast to the narrow-headed, dark-skinned, curly-headed Semite who belongs by force of History and Ethnology to the Orient. A race, inferior in qualities of blood and creativeness, yet thriving in Europe, is a menace, so we are told; and any contact with it, social, religious or academic, is the price of enslavement which superiority pays to inferiority.

The theory of the pure race has long since been discredited. The fiction of the superior Aryan is like the Crucifixion of the superior Jesus, in being the prolific source of an ever-widening alienation. If the Jew is an alien from a spiritual and a racial point of view, fellowship with him must be a dangerous condescension.

This theory, the erstwhile mental pastime of scholars culminating in the tragedy of the recent world war, has been magnified by the supposed relationship of the Jew to Capitalism. This latest pronouncement goes down to the roots of the humblest man's understanding or misunderstanding. Nothing so inflames the laboring classes as the bluster of haughty, tyrannous and self-sufficient Capitalism. It would be an easy task to balance the names of some bankers who happened to be of Jewish birth and who have long since exchanged their birthright for a mess of Teutonic pottage by the names of such outstanding leaders as Lassalle, Bernstein, Karl Marx and dozens of others, haters of the Capitalistic system, friends of the poor, and protagonists of the new economic revolution.

Nor would it be difficult to show how this double-barreled theory is directly responsible for the Dreyfus tragedy in France, the hundred-fold pogroms in Russia, the fiasco of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion." . . . To catalogue all the charges that ensue from these major offenses would consume considerable time. For our own satisfaction let us write them out. It is charged that the Jew unduly worships success, that he interprets success and power in terms of money, that the possession of money by so many bankers and brokers creates an invisible empire of Jewish finance with its dead hand upon the lever of Christian progress and civilization; that he is not creative but reaps his inordinate rewards as distributor rather than as producer, that he is ill-bred, unscrupulous, with an eye to first advantage, lacking in self-restraint, insensitive to the rights of others, annoyingly conspicuous and vulgarly aggressive, finding himself socially exclusive and Jewishly gregarious, and at heart swamped by materialistic longings and atheistic tendencies.

Far be it from me to exculpate the vulgarities and the flaunting insolence of individual Jews. But what I do most strenuously resent is the indictment of all our people because of the cupidity or stupidity of some or many. We gain nothing by alleging the same offenses in Christians. What we Jewish people ought well to cultivate is the art of self-criticism, an art whose enshrinement in the Cathedrals and Churches of Christ would be equally desirable. We Jews have our individual preferences and prejudices. And while we know what are our own objectionable traits as individuals, it becomes our first duty to clear our minds of any prejudice against the Christian either as exponent of a certain creed or as a definite social group or as an individual. Let every Jew first sweep before his own door. His duty is to win the good-will of his fellow-man for his own inherent, individual worth. Craving for fellowship, he must have the capacity for it. The individual Jew must make himself lovable, and ask to be judged on his own merits.

14. THE YIDDISH PRESS[1]

By Mordecai Soltes

A LARGE proportion of readers are attached to the Yiddish press who are sufficiently Americanized to rely for general news on the vernacular press. Why does the Jewish immigrant hold with such tenacity to the Yiddish press even after he has acquired facility in the use of the English language? In the judgment of the writer the replies given to this question by over ninety per cent. of the persons who answered it, offer some support to the conviction that, although the Jewish immigrants support their group press more generously and for a longer period than do the non-Jewish immigrants, the present tendencies, if maintained, point to the gradual decline of the Yiddish press in this country.

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[1] Some of the conclusions of an extensive study published under the title, *The Yiddish Press—An Americanizing Agency,* Teachers College, Columbia University, 1925.

In expressing this opinion the writer does not mean to imply that the Yiddish press should be dispensed with, or that there is any possibility that it will be eliminated in the near future as a factor of importance in American Jewish life. Far from it. Any person who has had an opportunity to observe the influence which the Yiddish press exerts must conclude that it is a constructive power in American-Jewish life. It is true that the Yiddish press occupies an important place in the life of the Jewish immigrant, and renders useful, essential service to him, particularly during his period of transition from the old to the new environment. But, once he has attained sufficient familiarity with the common language of the land, he is interested in the Yiddish press mainly because it furnishes him with an adequate account of the specifically Jewish news throughout the world. It is quite possible, therefore, that as soon as a forceful English-Jewish daily which will deal adequately with Jewish news makes its appearance, the majority of those who are able to read English will patronize it, with a resultant decline in the circulation of the Yiddish newspapers.

The fact that the majority of the Yiddish publications have gradually introduced an English page or column or have attempted to teach their readers English, indicates clearly that the leaders of the Yiddish press realize what changes the future may require, especially if the United States should adhere to its restrictive immigration policy.

What purposes do the Yiddish newspapers strive to achieve through their editorial columns?

The analysis of the content of the editorials of the entire Yiddish press has brought to the surface results which are significant. It has been generally assumed that the primary aim of a foreign-language press is to keep its readers in touch with the events which transpire in the "old country"; to aid in keeping the immigrant readers in America well informed regarding the welfare of their relatives whom they left behind when they emigrated to America. The investigation of the Yiddish press seems to have established that, in the case of the editorial comment of this particular press, the emphasis is placed largely on matters and events which are of primary concern to their readers as Americans. While the Yiddish newspapers generally do not permit any opportunity to go by to comment on problems of vital significance to the Jewish people, one might conclude from the results of this study, that this press conceives its main editorial function to be to interpret American events, ideals, and institutions to its immigrant Jewish readers.

From the point of view of the volume of civic material included in its editorial columns it is evident that the Yiddish press has a decidedly American outlook. The Yiddish newspapers are "American newspapers printed in Yiddish," and constitute a desirable accession to American journalism. They resemble the native-language press in the general scope of their editorial content and deal prevailingly with general American issues. Some themes which have been included under Jewish group issues, as those dealing with philanthropic questions, are not in any sense foreign, and simply embrace the social and religious problems of the Jewish group in America. However, even if these issues be excluded from consideration, the proportion of editorials devoted to general American issues is about twice as large as all others combined. In fact, out of the twelve minor subject categories, the largest three belong under American issues and consume approximately three-fifths of the entire content.

A consideration of the nature of the subjects which it treats editorially, as well as of the attitudes and sentiments which it expresses, warrants the conclusion that the influence which the Yiddish press radiates through its editorial columns is wholesome civically, and that it is a vital factor in the Americanization of its immigrant readers.

It consciously attempts to bring them nearer to America in sentiment, thought, and action, by the constant discussion of American events and problems—political, economic, and cultural; by taking advantage of every opportunity to educate its readers up to the American point of view in matters which have been generally accepted and which are beyond the realm of controversy. It endeavors to inculcate an understanding and respect for American institutions; to explain to its readers the significance of American festivals and customs and to urge their observance; to stimulate national pride in their adopted country by pointing out the advantages of the American government and institutions in both form and spirit, by comparison and in contrast with those of other countries; to imbue its readers with American ideals and with reverence for the principles of American democracy; to give them a proper conception of the duties and opportunities of American citizenship and to quicken their sense of responsibility.

It tries to get its readers to understand that in our democracy all privileges and powers originated with the people. It exhorts them to become citizens, to exercise their right to vote at the primaries and elections, and not to leave the control of politics entirely in the hands of professional politicians; to take advantage of their power to remedy the defects in our present social and industrial order by means of the ballot, and not to permit themselves to be swayed by agitators who advocate sabotage or terrorism; to adapt themselves to American conditions and standards, to leave the congested city life and to settle upon the farm; to organize and to remain faithful to their unions, thereby aiding in maintaining proper American standards of living; in brief, not to remain strangers in this land but to become part and parcel of the American people.

The relatively greater frequency with which the Yiddish newspapers deal editorially with American issues, as compared with the attention given to foreign and specifically Jewish problems, the emphasis which they generally put upon the inculcation and development of the virtues or desirable qualities of citizenship, and the efforts which they exert in the direction of uprooting or correcting prevailing civic deficiencies, place the Yiddish press in the front rank as an Americanizing agency.

15. THE CONFLICT OF JUDAISM AND PRACTICAL LIFE[1]

By HARRY AUSTRYN WOLFSON

WE HAVE thus seen that the intellectual aspect of the problem will take care of itself, and that the spiritual problem is at bottom nothing but a social problem, the problem of reorganizing Jewish life, of enriching it, of making it a safe refuge from the despair of doubt, a field of action for the display of one's energies. But can Jewish life be thus reorganized and remade? The crucial problem of Judaism is the practical problem, the possibility of having a Jewish life in all its fullness and completeness, in this non-Jewish world. Jewish thought can undoubtedly be adjusted after a manner to modern thought, but can Jewish life be adjusted to modern life? If we look things squarely in the face, we are bound to admit that such a task is impossible. Jewish life in the modern Gentile world is an anomaly. Judaism is not only a view of life, it is also a form of life. It is not the simple Golden Rule which Hillel recommended to the heathen. It is rather the onerous commentary thereon which he further asked him to study. We can revise this commentary, but we cannot altogether discard it. Judaism is a religion of work, not merely a religion of faith, and in so far as Judaism seeks to express itself in some concrete form of life, it is legalism, however we may fret under this designation. Such legalism it has always been and will always remain: rituals and ceremonials, things pure and impure, days of fasting and days of feasting, days of rest and days of study, days of mourning and days of merrymaking. We can explain and justify and modify Jewish legalism, but we cannot deny it. All the great Jewish thinkers from Maimonides to Mendelssohn knew it and acknowledged it; we nowadays are in the habit of denying it, some of us through lack of courage, some of us through lack of knowledge.

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[1] Extract from *Menorah Pamphlet No. 2,* 1921.

Law at its best is a restraint upon life, but it carries its compensation when it is a law growing out of that very life which it restrains. But law which is foreign and imposed upon life is a burdensome yoke, for which the only possible compensation is the satisfaction derived from doing one's duty and exercising the virtue of obedience. The Law that is Judaism is something alien in the world in which we live, and to obey it is all sacrifice and no reward. Judaism was not made for the Diaspora, and no sooner had life in the Diaspora begun than the practical problem of Judaism made its appearance, and has been plaguing us ever since. You can, of course, leave the laws intact on the statute books, and do as you please in actual life, and call yourself orthodox. But how long can you last in such an amphibious existence? You may try to be logical and consistent, and annul the laws, and call yourself "reform." But you cannot go on annulling without having something left of Judaism. There will always be a residuum of Judaism that will make you uncomfortable and demand some sacrifice. You may annul the burdensome Sabbath laws, and keep the day merely as a day of service. But your temples will be empty, for even that small sacrifice your congregants will be unwilling to make. You may shift your services from Sabbath to Sunday, but the members of your temple will slip out one by one and join the first church that will welcome them, because of some imaginary social advantage to be gained. You may abolish the obligatory green-thatched booth on the Feast of the Tabernacles, and of your own free will you will adorn your temple pulpit with evergreen as a mere ceremonial. You may do away with the blowing of the ram's horn on New Year's Day, and out of a mere feeling of propriety you will reproduce its thrills on the temple organ as a reminiscence. But how long will you subsist on these empty husks of religion? You may wipe away with one grand flourish of your hand ceremonials and laws alike and insist that you are entrusted with a mission to preach pure monotheism to a world defiled by an impure belief. But how long will your soul be satisfied with this disembodied ghost of religion? You may succeed in preserving Judaism as a faint reminiscence of ancestral pride, or as a mere obstinate refusal to join other religious bodies, but of what worth will such a Judaism be to you and to the world?

Judaism Demands Self-sacrifice

It is not any particular mode of present-day Judaism that I am advocating. I am merely trying to point out the fact that as a form of life, and not a mere set of doctrines, Judaism in any form whatever will always demand of its adherents to remain to a large extent "a people that shall dwell alone." The practical difficulty of Judaism is not that most of its old forms of worship and study and action have lost for us their intrinsic significance. Under favorable conditions we could easily find for them modern and quite satisfactory equivalents, even as we are trying to find moral equivalents for war and wholesome equivalents for the barroom—and this not without the sanction of the Law that is Judaism. The chief and only practical difficulty is that, whatever form Judaism may assume, if that form is to differentiate it from other religions, it will always be alien to the environment and will call for sacrifices on our part. Judaism is a religion of sacrifice, of self-sacrifice. In so far Judaism is our disadvantage or our mishap, as Heine called it. Because of our Judaism we must be prepared to give up some of the world's goods even as we must be prepared to make sacrifices because of other disadvantages with which we may happen to be born. All men are not born equal. Some are born blind, some deaf, some lame, and some are born Jews. The blind, the deaf, the lame all have to forego many a good thing of life. To be isolated, to be deprived of many social goods and advantages, is our common lot as Jews. Are we willing to submit to Fate, or shall we foolishly struggle against it?

There is a great university in this country where examinations for admission sometimes fall on our Day of Atonement. Jewish boys in considerable number flock annually to that university, and when they are called upon to take the entrance examinations on this the holiest of days, they are confronted with the necessity of choosing between their conscience and their convenience. Petitions are usually sent to the President of the university begging for a change of date, and these petitions are usually refused. Many a Jew in the community where the university is located feels sorely aggrieved at this repeated refusal, but I confess that I could never work up any indignation over it. For I look upon it as an insignificant incident in the Jew's struggle to maintain himself in this strange world. It is one of the many thousands of like incidents which these boys are sooner or later bound to be confronted with, in which they will have to choose between their outer convenience and their inner duty. It would seem rather futile to ask for a special privilege in this particular case, when such privileges will not carry them far through life, for they will some day have to decide between following Judaism, with its price fully paid, and following whatever suits their own convenience. Not that we should deny ourselves the right of demanding what is due us when a question of right is involved, nor that I approve of our Christian neighbors, or rather, masters, who, knowing our willingness to sacrifice, exact that sacrifice from us, but I cannot help seeing the futility of it all. In the long run, Judaism will not be saved by treating Jews as a privileged class. It can be saved only by the willingness of Jews to make sacrifices for it. How far are we willing to go?

16. SOME HISTORICAL FACTS CONCERNING AMERICAN ANTI-SEMITISM[1]

By LEWIS S. GANNETT

ANTI-SEMITISM, as it manifests itself in America, is essentially a part of a long Anglo-Saxon tradition of dislike of the newer arrival. Anglo-Saxon Americans have small interest in the "melting-pot" except as a phrase. They do not want to be fused with other races, traditions, and cultures. . . .

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[1] Extract from an article in *The Nation,* March 21, 1923, page 330.

The Ku Klux Klan is a natural expression of Anglo-Saxon Americanism. It is anti-Catholic, anti-Negro, anti-Jew. It is 100-per-cent. white, Gentile, and Protestant. It appeals to the love of secret mummery and to the readiness to resort to violence which run like red threads through the whole history of Anglo-Saxon America. But it is nothing new. Even the Ku Klux Klan of Reconstruction days was not new. The alien and sedition laws of John Adams's days mark the influence in the eighteenth century of what we call Palmerism and Fordism today. We are fond of recalling Baron von Steuben and other European heroes of our Revolution today; but the suspicion of foreigners marked itself very early in our history in the legends of Washington's distrust of these men and of his apocryphal order, "I want none but Americans on guard tonight."

The Know-Nothing movement of the thirties, forties, and fifties of the last century was strikingly like the Ku Klux Klan type of anti-Semitism today. There was the same garb of religious prejudice masking what was essentially a resentment of something different—something "foreign." Those were the days when the Irish and the German waves of immigration were rolling into New York and Boston harbors. The Germans were largely Protestant, but their desire to make Sunday a day of pleasure aroused our Puritan ire. The Irish spoke English, but that did not save them. In Massachusetts, Maryland, Kentucky, Alabama, New York—no section has a clean record—the history of those decades is spattered with convent-burnings and even pogroms in which whole Irish quarters were burned and sacked. Our American inventor of the telegraph, Samuel F. B. Morse, gave the anti-Catholic movement its counterpart of the modern Jewish protocols in a series of lurid anti-Catholic pamphlets describing the "foreign conspiracy against the United States." ("Imminent Dangers to the Free Institutions of the United States through Foreign Immigration and the Present State of the Naturalization Laws," by an American, 1835; "The Foreign Conspiracy Against the Liberties of the United States," by Brutus, 1835, etc.) Catholic children were not barred from the universities, which were then attended mainly by the sons of professional men, but Catholic children were expelled from Boston schools for refusal to participate in Protestant prayers, and "in many places throughout the North the children of Irish parentage attending the common schools were subjected during these years to various kinds of petty persecution. On the school-grounds they were hooted as Paddies. Textbooks were used to disparage their religion . . . etc."[1] The Know-Nothing Party—so named because its members professed ignorance of its acts as complete as the ignorance today professed by citizens of Mer Rouge, Louisiana, of the deeds of their fellow-Klansmen—sounds strangely familiar to present-day ears. "The party was a vast secret society with ramifications in every State. Secret lodges were instituted everywhere, with passwords and degrees, grips and signs. The initiation was solemn. The candidate who presents himself for admission to the first degree must, with his right hand upon the Holy Bible and the cross, take a solemn oath of secrecy. Then, if he were twenty-one, if he believed in God, if he had been born in the United States, if neither he himself, nor his parents, nor his wife were Roman Catholics, and he had been reared under Protestant influence, he was considered a proper applicant."[2]

It is plain enough that if the Jewish immigration had been appreciable in those days the fervor which was directed

[1] Desmond, "The Know-Nothing Party," Washington, 1908.

[2] J. F. Rhodes, "History of the United States," II, 53.

against the Germans and the Irish Catholics would have been turned upon the Jews as well. The old Nativist writings have the same ring as the patter of the 100-per-cent. Americanizers, the Red-raiders, and the Jew-baiters of today. It was in 1895, before the tide of Jewish immigration was strong, that the historian John Bach McMaster wrote that "It is safe to say that this dread of the naturalized citizen has never been wholly absent from our political life, and that its outbreaks have always followed periods remarkable for the great numbers of newcomers to our shores." The movement may be painful enough to its victims today, but it is far from being as vigorous or effective as this anti-Catholic movement seemed in the fifties. In 1855 the Nativist Party, which had little platform except a twenty-one-year naturalization law and a general Klannish opposition to all "foreigners," elected its candidates for governor in New York, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Connecticut, Kentucky, and California, carried the State Legislature in Maryland, and had an impressive vote in Texas, Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas. In Massachusetts, indeed, it elected not only the governor but the entire upper house and all save three of the lower house of the State Legislature, but its anti-immigrant activities simmered down to the appointment of a committee to investigate the convents of the State, a committee which itself had to be investigated by the next legislature.

Anti-Semitism is of course a recent fact. It had to await the coming of the Jews, and while Spanish Jews came to this country before the Revolution and German Jews throughout the last half of the last century, the great rush of Jewish immigration came from Russia and began in 1904, about the time of the Kishenev massacre. The children of that Jewish immigration are just coming of age as the present anti-Jewish feeling is reaching its maximum. But I think it is a mistake to seek the origin of this anti-Semitism in Europe. The Nativist spirit of the fifties, which has never died, is naturally directed today against the newer immigrant stocks.

17. PREJUDICE AS A SOCIAL PHENOMENON[1]

By Julius Drachsler

I

LACK of data has in the past made the study of "bias" and prejudice too theoretical and in part misleading. The new psychology demands reconsideration, especially of the assumed unalterability of "instinctive" attitudes.

From such material as is available it seems possible to conclude:

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[1] In January, 1925, the late Professor Julius Drachsler, of City College, at the invitation of the Inquiry, presented in rough outline some of the findings of his studies of prejudice. He was at the time engaged in time-absorbing research of a very original character; and this, together with his illness, prevented him from completing the series of four meetings originally scheduled. These were to have been on the topics:

Varieties of Prejudice,
The Natural History of Prejudice,
Social Direction and Control of Prejudice,
The Ethics of Prejudice.

The notes taken at the two meetings held make possible the presentation of an abstract of the first lecture and a fuller account of the second. It was his intention to examine, in the third talk, whether there were not possibilities of controlling and giving a social direction to prejudice instead of combatting it as such. He had tentatively arrived at the conclusion that there were such possibilities. And in the fourth lecture he intended to discuss not merely the ethics of prejudiced behavior, but also those of different methods of dealing with it. *See also* "Prejudice," a series of papers by Julius Drachsler, edited by M. J. Karpf, in the *Jewish Social Service Quarterly* for March-June and September-December, 1930.

1. That situations involving prejudice in present-day social life are made up of relationships between humans, not between humans and their physical environment;

2. That they involve individuals as members of groups rather than as detached personalities;

3. That the groups involved are characterized by differences in biological or cultural traits.

Consequently, a weakening of group solidarity and emphasis on the individual tends to weaken the sense of prejudice. The question results: Shall we proceed methodically to break down group loyalties and iron out differences?

From the available data it seems possible to conclude further:

4. That the intensity of prejudice is dependent upon the relative size of groups: The smaller the minority group, the smaller tends to be the intensity of the prejudical attitude.

5. That it is dependent also upon the relative degree of social and economic subordination or stratification of the groups involved: Change in economic status on the part of the minority group tends to create a situation in which prejudice is intensified.

6. That a behavioristic study of the phenomenon does not suffice; but that each case of prejudice is characterized by a sense of disharmony, ranging from mild irritation to bitter quarrel, which requires a study of the emotional feeling aroused.

Some of the elements that tend to sustain and accentuate this sense of disharmony are

a. a sense of superiority, physical, mental or moral;
b. the ascription to the other side of all unsocial traits and to one's own of all social traits;
c. a tendency to exaggerate differences;
d. a rationalization of attitudes.

7. There are as many varieties of prejudice as there are human groupings; yet, to give reality to a working hypothesis the following classification is useful:

a. Inter-racial prejudices;
b. Intra-racial prejudices;
c. Trans-racial prejudices.

If this analysis be adopted, the following questions arise for further study:

What is the rôle of the biological and what is the rôle of the cultural? Is it possible to classify prejudices into those that are native and those that are acquired? To get nearer a fruitful discussion of these questions, we need inquire:

a. Why are the traits described as common to cases of prejudice exhibited: group-affiliation—differentness? Why the sense of disharmony, pre-judgment, exaggeration, ascription of unsocial traits, rationalization?
b. What is the process by which these attitudes grow, assuming that these elements have been traced?

After such questions as these have been answered, it will be possible to proceed to questions of policy and action:

What can we do to control these mental traits as far back in the life of the individual as we can go?

II

A consideration of the genetics of prejudice, the origin and development of prejudice, in a way leads into a rather technical discussion because it comes to a discussion of the psychology of prejudice. We are going from a description of the varieties to an explanation of prejudice. We are trying at this point to arrive at a working hypothesis: How do prejudices arise? When are they fixed? How do they grow? It is intensely difficult to formulate a working hypothesis to discover how they originate. The scientific way is to observe human infants from the time of birth and trace the effects of various influences upon them and their ways of reacting. Thus we may observe how types of behavior which we call prejudice actually arise. But this type of genetic study has not yet been opened up. We have done practically nothing along these lines. We are dealing with a complicated situation. The attitudes which we call prejudices are complicated mental products. If, as somebody suggested, we try to get self-analyses of how prejudices arose, we would find them not very valuable. Most people cannot remember how their prejudices originated and, therefore, in most cases their testimony would not be valuable. So that method of approach does not promise good results although we shall have to gather what material we can from these self-analysts.

The most fruitful line of approach to genetics is the psychology of the learning process, for to develop attitudes, prejudices, to create values in the minds of individuals means, in the last analysis, to teach people to behave in a certain way, teach them certain types of reaction; in technical language, to condition original and native behavior.

The most suggestive kinds of experiments bearing upon our problem are the so-called conditioned-response experiments carried on by such psychologists as Pavlov and his students and down through a long line to Watson with individuals in the Johns Hopkins Hospital and also in Teachers College.

On the basis of these findings, we may now formulate a working hypothesis, in a general way, and then perhaps apply it more specifically: Projection of an unfamiliar, strange, unusual situation creates in the individual not necessarily fear, but a state of suspense—a kind of balance between the impulse to draw near and the impulse to withdraw. We can observe this state of suspense, for example, in the hunting dog, sometimes in a child confronted with an unusual situation, or even with adults confronted with strange, unusual stimuli. Perhaps the feeling side of this suspense (the behaviorist would criticise us for this subjective element) might be described as a sense of uneasiness or uncomfortableness.

The perception of the unfamiliar object or situation does not necessarily create fear or the avoiding reaction. It is shown in Watson's experiments that many of the so-called fears of children are not instinctive; they are acquired fears, acquired in the way of conditioning. *Whether the reaction to this unfamiliar person or object or stimulus shall be a reaction of avoidance and ultimately hostility or a reaction of attraction and ultimately harmony and cooperation will depend upon the conditioning stimuli that are brought to bear at the time of confrontation, and also upon the frequency and intensity of the influences brought to bear on the individual.* It depends upon the kind of conditioning whether you will ultimately have fear reaction or harmony reaction. If these conditioning influences are of a kind to create fear or suspicion or disgust, or in general if the conditioning influences are of a kind to stir up a hostile mood, the tendency will be for the avoidance reaction to become gradually fixed. If the conditioning influences originally and later on are of a kind that create pleasantness, attraction, and not fear, rage and suspicion, and if they are intensified, constantly brought to bear, the attraction reaction tends to be fixed.[1]

How do we apply this to the social situation? Racial, nationalistic, religious, and all other varieties of prejudice are fundamentally socially conditioned reactions. There are no instinctive prejudices. All are socially created. The only "instinctive" element, if you use "instinctive" to mean *unlearned,* is this capacity to develop either in one direction or in the other. Human beings show natively that they are to be conditioned one way or another. *How* they are to behave, what kinds of habits they will acquire, depends upon these social influences. By social conditioning, I mean that the social environment into which a child is born is replete with admonitions, positive and negative, which tend accumulatively to fix attitudes. Think, for example, of the network of influences with reference to the Negro with which the white child in Georgia is born. Think of the complex of influences that relentlessly, steadily bear down on the Polish child with reference to his Jewish neighbors; influences on Protestant, on Catholic, with reference to the other group. Thus we begin to get an idea of this conditioning process that has its source of environment.

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[1] Dr. Drachsler took an active part in an extensive study by the Inquiry of the phenomena here discussed, which later resulted in the book on *Race Attitudes in Children,* by Bruno Lasker (Henry Holt & Co., 1929).

A and B are persons of different groups. A is black and B is white, or Jew and Gentile, or foreign and native born, or Frenchman and German, or Protestant and Catholic—I select typical cases. I said that the original state of mind of B towards A is simply that A is a *different* person, either biologically different or belonging to a different cultural group. This original state is one of suspense, not withdrawal or fear. The idea that if we are confronted with a strange object the reaction is fear is being exploded. But there is some warrant for recognizing a state of suspense. Now whether this attitude of B shall develop in the direction of avoidance and ultimately of hostility and antagonism, or in the other direction of attraction and ultimately cooperation, whether the switch shall be opened in one direction or another, depends upon certain conditioning influences that are brought to bear on the individual. They have their source in the social environment.

Now there are two sets of conditioning influences. One type of stimuli in the main tends to make the individual B avoid A and develop hostility. This type creates fear, suspicion, hatred. The emphasis is upon the incompatibilities of group interests. Another set would tend to create another type of attitude. It is the business of the genetic psychologist to discover just what kinds of influence in the social milieu create one type of development and what kinds tend to create other types. The fact is, we have not begun to analyze the specific kinds of influence that make for one or another type. It is here that the real job of the psychologist lies. We have impressions that certain propaganda, certain teaching, certain behavior in the home tend in the main to determine whether A's attitude to B shall be of avoidance, hostility, fear, or of harmony and cooperation. Specifically, we have not yet analyzed what influences actually make for one or the other. The next big job of the psychologists will be to go into the field and make studies of children and the specific influences that create one or the other type.

You will press your questions further. You will say this is too general. To say that these types of influence have their source in social, environmental conditions, covers the whole situation; but can you get at the particulars? There are two sub-divisions: The conditioning influences have their source in personal experience. B has certain experiences with A or individuals of A's group. The second reservoir is tradition. My guess is that the bulk of conditioning influences that create prejudice, racial, religious, political, nationalistic, find their source in the tradition that the group carries down, and not so much in the personal experience of the individual. If the personal experiences are of an irritating sort, then the individual finds his rationalization by going back to tradition. But that is a guess.

How did this tradition grow up? Many a person has a prejudice against another who never saw an individual of that group. There are persons who have prejudice against foreign-born, Jews, Protestants, etc., who never had any intimate contact with them. The traditional attitudes that are brought to bear, how did those grow up? How were they embodied in the social heritage? To answer that question we have to go back and make an historical analysis of the groups involved. Take the Protestant and Catholic, Jew and non-Jew conflict; we should probably find that the traditional attitudes have had their basis in personal differences and differences of group interest. So, in the last analysis perhaps, we can trace back traditional attitudes to group conflict of supposed or real differences of group interests, accentuated by personal experiences.

Now the next point in this general hypothesis: Once this avoidance reaction has been fixed—due to the working or conditioning of certain kinds of influence that find their source in the social environment, the other types of behavior that I have characterized are sucked in in order to stiffen the fighting impulse. Individuals, pitted one against another, emphasize the superiority of one over the other, ascribe all social virtues to one group and none to the other, exaggerate the difference between the two and rationalize. When we look at the situation in this way, these auxiliary kinds of behavior begin to take on meaning. Why affirm superiority of one's self over the other? In order to increase one's self-esteem and self-confidence which in turn tends to stiffen the fighting mood. Why claim the social virtues for one's self and say the other is a fraud and a liar while you are generous, kind, honest, fair? Again, in order to get social approval and backing of your group in this conflict. Why tend to emphasize and exaggerate difference, if not to accentuate the fighting mood? This kind of mechanism is brought out in conscious propagandists who know that the exaggeration of certain traits or facts tends to stiffen the fighting mood. But a good deal of such behavior might almost be described as automatic. It is auxiliary to the fundamental drive to fight the other person. All other types of behavior seem to be built around that mood.

That, in general, would be the hypothesis based on this conditioning type of experience.

In a way prejudices are an index of the incomplete control that human society has over the physical and social environment. Why fight? There are obvious incompatibilities of interest, real or supposed, but are these interests really incompatible? In the last analysis prejudice can be eliminated or forestalled or curbed. Creating a situation of harmonization of interest rather than conflict of interest will be the actual result.

After getting some sort of insight into prejudice in this way, the next question that we are interested in is, *how* can this prejudice be curbed and controlled? I am assuming, of course, that it is socially desirable to eliminate prejudice, although in a complete discussion we have no right to assume that. There are some who would hold that certain types of prejudice are worth while. We shall have to face that question—is it worth while to create certain prejudices? That will bring us into the ethics of prejudice.

One thing I should like to point out. If our general hypothesis is true, the most important practical implication is that if we can only get back far enough in the life history and get at these conditioning stimuli and be in a position to influence these influences, we shall have the key. We must get the individual early enough and be in key positions to bring certain kinds of conditioning influences to bear on him. What the sources are—the home, school, press, church, or other sources—we have yet to examine. Two things are needed: A position of influence early enough in the life of the individual, and the key to the manipulation of the social influences.

Looking at the problem in this way we may easily get into a hopeless mood because when we face this problem of manipulating social influences we feel how tremendously difficult it is. No one person, no one group can manipulate this network one way or another. That is why it is so difficult to uproot prejudices. It is difficult for one person to make an impression because there are so many profound influences in tradition as it comes down. I sometimes feel as if I were in a thick forest of gigantic trees with roots deep down in the soil, and was trying to uproot them, one after another. It would be easier to uproot big trees than some of our prejudices. But every once in a while we feel we can bring a little influence to bear in the direction of these social stimuli, and then we try our hand at it.

That, very inadequately, is the psychology or working hypothesis of the way prejudice originates and tends to be fixed. Frankly, I think we are in the first stage because we have not begun this specific analysis.

DISCUSSION

Question: There are two points about which I should like to ask Dr. Drachsler. How does the total of individual experiences become group experience? How does group experience differ from tradition? Where does group experience harden into tradition?

Drachsler: The way to answer that would be to go back to history. For the traditional attitude of Protestant and Catholic you have to go back to the history of the break, to the Protestant Reformation, and then still further back to the rise of dissenting groups. We need to go back to history and analyze the situation and see how personal contact between these two groups gave rise to friction, how they were institutionalized, became imbedded in the literature of the groups, and how that literature, being transmitted and taught, actually became the basis for these traditional attitudes. Every specific case would have to be answered by a first-hand historical analysis.

Question: Have we not some light on this in the theory of the development of the mores?

Drachsler: I think you can apply the general rise of folkways and mores only in a general way. I don't think we can get away from first-hand historical analysis.

Question: How do you distinguish between a prejudice and a judgment? Your explanation would describe all our process of learning. In the example of the child bitten by the dog, the child has good reason for its change in behavior. The child is making a rational judgment. Most people who hold prejudices would say what they had is a judgment.

My feeling regarding prejudice is that it is something different from ordinary judgment. Take the prejudices of whites and blacks. This is prejudice, for it is not rationally decided from experience, but it is something that we think without any really good reason. But one will say he has a good reason, and another that it is just prejudice. When we say "just prejudice," we must analyze what we mean. For example, the early colonists in America developed a decided prejudice against Indians. Perhaps that term is not right. They had hostile experiences with them. It was not strictly prejudice, but it might grow into that. I should like to know what we have a right to include and what we have not a right to include.

Drachsler: In my preliminary statement, in order to avoid being academic, I tried to avoid giving a rigid definition of prejudice but to build it up point by point. This is what we have built up: A prejudice is an attitude of disharmony, entertained by one person toward another. The subject of the prejudice is assumed to typify a group characterized by biological or cultural traits differing from those possessed or believed to be possessed by the group to which the other person belongs. This attitude of disharmony—which ranges from mild disdain to violent hatred—is reinforced by derogatory prejudgment, and the base of that prejudgment is a false generalization or rather an inaccurate or partial generalization. Prejudices are judgments, but they are judgments based upon certain inaccuracies.

Question: So far your study has not marked out the difference between what you ought to get rid of and what not?

Drachsler: When people say Jews or Negroes have certain traits, they may be drawing upon personal experience that to a certain extent bears out what they say. What is true, however, is that you can find any trait in any group. You have to have the whole group and take your pick. The way tradition has conditioned our judgment is that we pick the kind of traits that we like to think of as characteristic of a group; and then we generalize that bit of information and say that every member of that group has that trait.

Question: You seem to assume that the reaction of avoidance will inevitably lead to hostility. Need that necessarily be the case? Can I not have a desire not to associate with a person or group and still not wish them any harm?

Drachsler: If I gave the impression that avoidance necessarily leads to hostility I wish to correct it. I simply meant that this is the general trend of behavior. It may stop at avoidance. If the contact is close and there is no way of getting rid of the unpleasantness, the tendency is to accentuate the differences, and it may develop into bitter hostility. The thing is complicated. We must define very carefully what may be only avoidance, what may be mild irritation. We need a systematic analysis of the social conditions under which reaction will merely be avoidance, and of the conditions under which it will be irritation, and those conditions under which it will be hostility.

Question: Do you consider these prejudices as emanating from the individual toward the group as a whole or from any individual to a sub-division of a group, or from one individual to a single individual? May not a person have a definite prejudice against a sub-division of a certain group and feel a sense of hostility or avoidance to a sub-division and at the same time feel friendly to individuals or to other divisions of the group?

Drachsler: Yes, take the sub-divisions of European nationalities—North Italians—South Italians; sub-divisions of Jew, Russian Jew—Polish Jew.

Question: Can we generalize to such an extent then as you have done? We have certain definite judgments which would lead us to avoid certain members of a group, and certain others we are very much attracted to. We seek their companionship, we like to associate with them, and at the same time we may have definite prejudices against the sub-division as a whole. Then, can we generalize to the extent to which this theory would lead us to generalize?

Drachsler: We can to the extent only of the psychological processes of the creation of these prejudices. You have in some way developed a prejudice against a sub-division. The psychological process is the same as that involved in the prejudice that you have toward a larger group.

Question: Is it not possible for us to have certain attitudes toward individuals and different ones to the group? I may have a certain attitude toward certain sections of Jewry because in my contact with those people I have received certain stimuli, whereas on the other hand I may definitely seek the companionship and the stimulus of another group or another section belonging to that general group.

Question: Does that not mean that certain social values are at stake, and the danger to those values may be identified with the whole group or with special divisions of that group? I was wondering whether, under the general heading of what you termed control of prejudice, there is not the necessity for defining more especially the social values which are felt to be in jeopardy. Is not the primary thing, the disturbing difference in others, certain social values which we feel are in jeopardy, in that the people who differ from us are non-conductors of them?

Drachsler: Are people conscious of that? I think you are not emphasizing this element of tradition enough. It is true, in many cases people are very conscious of the differences in value; and the participants in the original conflict probably are keenly conscious of the differences involved. But as differences are handed down, this element of conscious evaluation tends to disappear. It reappears when the crisis is on. Then it is afterwards rationalized.

Question: Would you not make a distinction between the evaluation that has an intelligent basis so that you can explain it and the strange "hunch" that a value is jeopardized? When I was a proctor at Harvard, there was a great stir among the dowagers because the Jewish young men were coming to the Saturday night dances. You could not put your finger on the things they objected to. The young men were attractive, they had been at Groton, they dressed well, they mauled their felt hats properly. But they were not of the "first families" of New England, to belong to which had a certain scarcity value. My question is, does not the significance of difference lie in the fact that socially endorsed approvals and sanctions are at stake?

Drachsler: I am afraid to use psychological jargon, particularly of a non-behavioristic school. The perception of difference does not necessarily create a prejudice. I may be quite conscious of difference and yet not have this attitude. The *apperception* of difference, the meaning of the difference, the value that I attach to the thing, is the starting point of the process as to whether difference shall develop into prejudice or an attitude of harmoniousness. If my perception of the thing is of a kind that in general harmonizes with the group habits and group values, then prejudice will probably not develop. Mere perception is just the starting point. If it were true that there were certain ineradicable instinctive reactions that make for disharmony, then we would have to throw up our hands. But it is how we teach the generations to interpret or how we teach them to evaluate the differences that determines whether or not we shall have prejudice.

Question: Would not people think you attach major importance to the unfortunate effects of disliking people, whereas dislike may be first originated to safeguard values which in the long run should be socially safeguarded?

Question: I think there is still confusion between a rational judgment and an attitude of avoidance or hostility. A person may have a perfectly rational procedure for his judgment of the group. On the other hand, a few individuals appeal to him as "all right." His attitude of hostility toward the group might be perfectly well founded. Here is a group that has undesirable qualities. He has that idea of the group.

Question: I wonder whether it is always because the person has undesirable qualities that we dislike him. At Harvard, with the habit there of erecting exclusive dormitories, one of these days somebody will conceive the idea of a dormitory for serious-minded students. It would probably be named the Jewish Club. That is not an undesirable quality, and yet it may beget prejudice, may it not?

Drachsler: It is really difficult to get some kind of objective test. How would your reasoning apply as to distinctions between desirable and undesirable? First, I would try to analyze what was really in a person's mind. Convert generalizations on the basis of facts. If they said they had a prejudice against Italians, I would try to discover why, try to show them other instances, and so convert their partial judgments. If there was an element of truth and they were drawing conclusions from what was true, I would let them alone. "Prejudice" means that it is not altogether true.

Question: Is not that one of the practical problems? From the recognition of true differences, the mind under the impact of conditioning influences tends to generalize and exaggerate. Some notion is "reasonable" up to a point and after that prejudicial.

Question: I am thinking of good and bad prejudices. There were certain prejudices my mother passed on to me that served a good end for my development in my relationships with people, and I cannot see that the other people were hurt. These prejudices served definite purposes. What we face is quite different as we think of the bad things that come through prejudice. It is a question of values in my mind. Must we not look at the positive side of prejudice?

Drachsler: The moment we inject the problem of values into this difficult situation, it is almost impossible to have an objective standard. What may be desirable for one group may not be desirable for another. The values of one group are due to a long process of development, different from that of the other. No reconciliation is possible when subjective evaluation is involved. How can we tell whether Gandhi's attitude toward our mechanistic civilization is less "desirable" than the attitude that some of us have? What is the ultimate test of value? That is why it is such a difficult thing to get a satisfactory answer. There are as many answers as there are creators of value, and that depends on group experience. We have the same difficulty here that the sociologist has in the problem of progress. What is progress? Setting up one test, the industrial revolution, it is one thing; setting up another, it is something else. We have come to a point where we are keenly aware of this difficulty. In the main, it is a question of accepting certain very large human values.

Question: Is there not one ground on which we can all unite? We can work until the close of the century in weeding out falsehood. Clear away those prejudices based on falsehood. For that we need not go into questions of value. Another line to pursue is to encourage correct processes of reason and to discourage group judgments.

Question: How would you explain this situation? A man has a prejudice, traditional with his group. Under certain stimuli, in quite advanced years of his life, it is completely removed.

Question: May it not be that the ultimate criterion has to do with wholeness of life? That the mystic processes of age would bring men to an understanding of the wholeness of life?

Question: The latter part of the discussion today has persuaded me that race may have something to do with religion after all. It is not so utterly impossible to find a criterion for values of judgment if a society has a religion. There are some criteria involved in that religion. May it not be our business to find our criteria through our religious faith or to discover our religious faith in the search for criteria? Professor Coe makes this point in the Psychology of Religion. Religion affords you ground for revaluation of all your values.

Drachsler: We have been thinking all along this question of irreconcilable differences. From the point of view of the wholeness of life, of the inclusiveness of human life, there are no such things as irreconcilable differences. If we insist upon certain differences as irreconcilable, certain larger inclusive values are wrecked; and the way to reconcile these differences is to lift the conflict to this higher level. In great crises just that happens. You simply lift the difference to a higher level and see the difference in a larger perspective. It is this larger perspective that religion can contribute. Our differences here find a solution. In this larger view so-called differences are due to the fact that we do not know how to control this particular prejudice, which is lack of human intelligence. A new perspective changes your evaluation of things.

18. THE OPPRESSION PSYCHOSIS[1]

By HERBERT ADOLPHUS MILLER

OPPRESSION is the domination of one group by another, politically, economically or culturally—singly or in combination. In pathology psychosis means mental disorder. In my use of the term I mean those persistent and exaggerated mental states which are characteristically produced under conditions where one group dominates another.

I do not wish to over-emphasize the Freudian basis of my theory, because there is much in the Freudian system which is not essential to my treatment of the problem, but at the same time there is no question but that the Freudian approach throws much light on what has hitherto not been adequately explained.

The division of consciousness into the emotional, volitional and cognitive we know is merely artificial and convenient for clearer understanding, and is in part a holdover from the theological and metaphysical methods of thinking. We now think of these three as merely different aspects of the same unity and recognize that they have their roots below consciousness; and, so far as they spring from instincts, go back to evolutionary origins.

At the bottom of all consciousness is a "wish," "urge" or "disposition," which has its origin in an evolution in which it was preserved because it had a survival value. When the wish, urge, or will, as we shall call it, is frustrated or inhibited it does not yield passively. It was created to struggle, and opposition stimulates it to struggle harder.

Many diseases of the individual come from inhibitions of this sort which are imposed by all sorts of conditions of life. Many are products of convention. The psycho-analysts get rid of many abnormal states of mind simply by making the patient understand the cause, and then when possible remove the cause.

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[1] Extract from Chapter IV of *Races, Nations and Classes.* J. B. Lippincott Co., 1924, page 32. *See also* Chapter IX on "Anti-Semitism."

Although a part of what I am maintaining is analogous and not identical, I think there is no hope for a world of peace and cooperation until some similar method is applied to the problems arising out of the conflict of groups, whether races, nations or classes. The group is an object for which it is instinctive to strive, and in connection with which we have our strongest emotions.

A political, economic or cultural domination inevitably results in the frustrated will of the subject group. These may be defined as autocratic, plutocratic or cultocratic control. The struggle for freedom which has been so much a part of the world's history and much to the fore recently, has not been a struggle for individual freedom so much as for freedom of groups. The whole world responded immediately to the idea of "self-determination" because it is an elemental "wish" for which people have always felt and striven, though it has only recently been defined.

Freedom is not what we have so often tried to make it mean, an absence of determinism, but merely a demand for the privilege of self-determination. When freedom is denied, frustration and disorganization result, not only for the individuals but in the relationship of societies. I mean by an oppression psychosis, then, the "balked disposition" of a group, which is reflected by all of the members characteristically.

In the struggle which always follows on the trail of frustration, some compensation is found whose excesses measure the pathology. . . . It has been the error of governing states to think that if the national aspiration of a subject people is prevented from accomplishment, the end of the rulers was achieved. . . . We get confused by talking about justice and right as abstract principles, when the real measure is found in the attitudes of the people themselves. We have even come to attribute certain biological and racial characteristics to the Irish and to the Jews, when their peculiarities are nothing but injustice expressed in characteristic attitudes.

Oppression Symptoms

In the diagnosis of the national traits of all people who have not been sovereign, we must always look for some oppression resultant, of which there are certain outstanding symptoms that are amazingly uniform. "Americanization" must be largely psychiatry directed towards the outstanding facts or psychoses. An oppressed group is abnormally subjective. Its inability to realize itself freely has turned back attention to itself until its self-consciousness becomes entirely out of focus. In other words, an oppressed group is hyperæsthetic to itself. There is a complete incapacity to view its own problems objectively. Women have through long history belonged to an oppressed group and a prevailing psychosis is illustrated by the reply of the woman whose husband said to her, "The trouble with women is that they take everything personally." "That isn't so," she said, "*I* don't." Any one who has known Irish, Jews, Poles or other people who have long been dominated, is familiar with this tendency to personal interpretation. There is always a chip on the shoulder to which the slightest jar calls attention.

Closely related to this subjectivity is the tendency to be suspicious, which is nothing but a method of being on guard. Social workers have often remarked that certain immigrant nationalities are suspicious. In their group experience a suspicious habit has been necessary as a protective device. In the effort to resist absorption which used all sorts of subterfuges, the dominated group learned to meet any overture with suspicion.

The effect on the nervous system may take various forms. Clearly the inhibition of an instinct must have a neural sequence. In fact, what we have designated as Jewish characteristics are primarily based on the nervous reactions which have resulted from more varieties and longer oppression than those of any other group. The Jew is introspective, analytical, aggressive and conspicuous. The Negro also has many of the same characteristics, although he has not yet developed so many compensatory values, such as religious solidarity and business technique.

A technique is developed by the group and the individuals in it to meet the situation and retain the self-esteem necessary to life. The oppressed peasant has a shrewdness and cunning which he would not have had if he could have had freer relations with his masters, and the Jewish capacity to trade was developed under a necessity for survival in which trade offered the only possibility. The technique is no more racial than is that of the college boy who learns the method of selling books, and succeeds in making it work.

Aggressiveness also is the product of the reaction of the suppressed individual to make up for his inferiority. A small man is more often than not self-assertive, and for the same reason that the Negro makes himself conspicuous; the inferiority complex is as applicable to all the individuals of groups.

The most outstanding result of the oppression psychosis is to create a group solidarity which is far stronger than could have been created by any other means.

19. THE PRESENT NEEDS OF JUDAISM[1]

By Solomon Goldman

THE END of almost a century of religious conflict in Jewry finds neither Orthodoxy nor Reform with any victory to record; finds, rather, both so impoverished in spiritual resources that neither can hope to meet the new challenges of our own day. . . . In the meantime, a third religious group, the Conservative, has been making its way in American Jewry. Its short life of scarce twenty years has not been enough to reveal it fully. Thus far, it must be admitted, Conservative Judaism has inspired but little hope. Nevertheless, there are those who feel it contains the germ of great possibilities. . . .

We campaign breathlessly, build feverishly; we plunge desultorily from one activity into another; we hold conventions and adopt resolutions. But any suggestion to examine the premises upon which we are carrying on all these activities is shouted down with cries of "agnostic," "destroyer," "intellectual"! We thus succeed only in revealing our despair and pusillanimity. Happily, we cannot seriously hope to crush the spirit of inquiry with *ex cathedra* pronouncements. Rhetoric will not silence, much less convince, any one.

We must learn to face the facts pressed upon us by present-day living and thinking. And one of the outstanding facts of our day is that our life has rapidly become secularized. This may be extremely annoying to many of us; to some it may mean the breakdown of our civilization; but we cannot escape it by withdrawing into the synagogue as into an ivory tower—unless, of course, we are satisfied to see its influence expunged from our midst.

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[1] Extracts from an article, "A Rabbi Takes Stock," in *The Menorah Journal* for February, 1928.

The fact is that the synagogue has ceased to be a dynamo in Jewish life. The most vital endeavors of Jewry today are initiated and promoted by the "unsynagogued." The leaders in the upbuilding of Palestine and in Jewish education, the rejuvenators of the Hebrew language, the champions of modern Jewish knowledge, the promoters of Jewish art, all these with but few exceptions are known not to be synagogue Jews. Are we waiting for a miracle to bring these *apikorsim* back? Shall we stupidly consider ourselves the "remnant"? Or shall we try to understand what it was that made men so thoroughly Jewish abandon the age-old center of Jewish life and thought? Is it not because we have permitted the synagogue, that is, official Judaism, to concentrate upon prayer and ritual? As a result, those who were disinclined to pray or practice ritual left us. We failed to give the synagogue the proper ventilation; therefore it lost touch with its greatest sons and the most vital Jewish movements.

Judaism must be re-defined in terms of the whole of life. Nothing that enhances the physical, ethical, spiritual, or æsthetic welfare of the individual dare be overlooked in its perspective. To be sure, some congregations have taken cognizance of their ineffectiveness and opened their synagogues to a few secular activities. But their ideology remains unchanged—hence their failure to win adherents. They sought to save themselves by grafting the vulgarities of modern life onto a body that needs surgical treatment. What good can a few "activities" accomplish as long as the mental attitude of pulpit and pew remains paleolithic?

Both Reform and Orthodoxy still cling to the theology of the Middle Ages. Not even Reform Judaism has advanced beyond the reasoning of the scholastics, who were themselves tremendously influenced by the "dialectical elaboration of Aristotle." Classical philosophy which, as Professor Dewey has pointed out, is largely the rationalization of the spirit if not of the letter of ancient traditions, is still swallowed hook, line and sinker, without the least attention to the irreparable damage inflicted on it by the "social philosophers." And it is upon this exploded "classic metaphysical idealism" that the whole structure of our theology rests. No wonder that it is confined to the static atmosphere of the synagogue. In a dynamic environment, in the midst of a civilization that is grappling with reality, it is discarded as otiose and effete.

If religion is again to play a part in the furtherance of human happiness, its philosophy must be relevant to human experience. The old idealism will have to pay its respects to the reconstruction taking place in our ways of thinking. In place of immutable dogma and stereotyped creeds we shall have to be satisfied with functioning hypotheses. Threadbare words and limp concepts will have to find a new, vital meaning. The criteria of modern thinking will have to be applied to the terms God and soul, sin and evil. Our ethical concepts and moral usages, too, must be submitted to careful scrutiny. . . .

We do not mean, of course, to imply that man is to start *de novo,* that he is to forget the past completely. That, even were it possible, would prove cataclysmic. Man can build only on the foundation provided for him by previous generations. We will find in the past achievements of the race considerable guidance and encouragement to live and create. Jewish history must ever be our deep concern.

But we must study the past, not only reverentially, but critically as well. We cannot assume that all the accounts which have come down to us from the past are literally true. We must not hesitate to separate the grain from the chaff. The interpretation of history found in sacred and learned literature need not be considered as final. On the contrary, we often are today in a better position to understand the movements and events of the days of long ago than those who preceded us by centuries. Jewish history is certainly no exception. But not alone have the ancient historians failed us; even the so-called German School of modern Jewish historians has fallen short of real achievement. They have, indeed, succeeded in making Jewish history vivid to a degree; we must see whether it cannot be made vital. Our whole past must therefore be re-evaluated. It will have to be studied psychologically and comparatively.

The Jewish people has thus far been given isolated treatment as though it were a species different from the rest of humanity. Into what misconceptions this has led the world concerning us, the intelligent reader need not be told. But what is more damaging is the fact that we, ourselves, frequently fell into the most egregious errors concerning our history and destiny. . . .

It is not surprising, if the Jewish experience is so little understood, that the rôle of Jewish law in it should be so universally misinterpreted. Christian and some Jewish critics have for centuries frowned upon the insularity and legalism of Judaism. Rabbinism has been used as a term of reproach. To this day the Jew has been frequently described as a slave of the law, the weight of which destroyed his spirit.

The Western world received its religion from the Jews. It is natural, therefore, that it should have learned to look on the Jews as a religious group, and fail to understand why this evidently spiritual religion should have been encrusted with so much ceremony and practice. What connection was there, was persistently asked, between the dietary laws and prophecy? All peoples have developed diets peculiar to themselves, all peoples have certain manners, customs, conventions: why only among Jews have these manners, customs, conventions been vested with the dignity of laws?

The reason for this attitude on the part of the Jew toward custom and ceremony is two-fold. It should be remembered, in the first place, that Jewish folkways originated in remote antiquity at a time when the mere secular was unknown. The least as well as the most important of man's acts was believed to have been inspired by God or instigated by the devil in defiance of Him. The civilization of all peoples in early times was, in a sense, religious. The political as well as the social life was guided by a system of scruples and taboos. Judaism has been compelled by circumstances to retain unaltered this primitive relationship between religion and the whole of life.

In the second place, the Jew has been forced to use his folkways to make articulate his will to live, to perpetuate his existence. A community or a people can maintain its distinctiveness only by common living. One generation communicates to another its national heritage, and it is by means of such communication that the national life perpetuates itself. This communication, as Professor Dewey has pointed out, is of a two-fold nature—the indirect and the direct. The indirect form of communication is inherent in the environment in which we live. We copy the practices and usages of the people about us, and the young learn by imitation of their elders. The other method is the direct or scholastic, through which the less obvious and more complex experiences of the race are transmitted. Now, the Jewish people has except for a brief span of years always found itself in an environment not quite its own. It could not, therefore, benefit as much as other peoples from the indirect method of communication. Left to themselves, Jewish youths were prone to imitate other than their own elders. Pressure of the non-Jewish milieu was always cogent and real. The Jew's *modus vivendi* was not quite as obvious, might even appear artificial. He was, therefore, compelled to resort to the more direct method of communication and education. He could not leave the community of his distinctive life to chance. Hence, he vested the whole of his life with the dignity of law and religious sanction. . . .

The Jew learns that he must assume the responsibility of nationhood. He may be unable to accept the ideology of this nation, but he cannot dissolve it in a religious union. That a man's mother is his mother cannot be disputed, but that the son must accept all of the mother's philosophy is naturally open to question. We accept the nationhood of Israel as axiomatic, and in our program we must seek to carry out the implications of this fundamental axiom.

Jewish life thus viewed will receive new meaning. We accept the statement of the ethnologist that the first and irrevocable tie that binds a people together is language, and we must act upon it. Not only does its language constitute the "index to a people's soul," it is the only way to become acquainted with that soul. . . . A sound Jewish program, therefore, cannot conceive of Jewish life without the Hebrew language, not merely as the language of prayer, but the language in which many of our ablest sons and daughters will make their best contributions to society. We refuse, of course, to accept any substitute in the synagogue. But we also lament the fact that past generations lacked the perseverance to continue using Hebrew as their spoken language. . . .

It is not enough to deliver pronouncements against the Sunday School; we must, once and for all, abandon the sham of this educational system. To deceive Jews into believing that their children are being educated at the Sunday School, or that the Sunday School is in any way adequate as a solution of the problem of Jewish education, is to be downright dishonest. The American rabbinate cannot go on tolerating such a situation without lasting disgrace.

Another task for immediate consideration, to which men who hold this point of view have given already considerable attention, is the investigation of Jewish law. We dare not take the attitude of either the Reform or Orthodox Jew regarding Jewish tradition. The former has been the proverbial bull in a china shop; the latter, the proverbial ostrich. Jewish laws, customs and ceremonies must be searchingly studied. Many of them we shall find obsolete—these we must lose no time in discarding if we hope to continue Jewish communal life. Many traditions we shall have to retain because of their group-binding value. . . .

The position of woman, too, should find ready solution. In the Diaspora we shall spend much energy and waste considerable time in the discussion of non-essentials. In Palestine the problem will be worked out, not in the synagogue, but in the midst of life. Woman will and must become man's equal in all of life's endeavors; our society is indecent otherwise. Such atrocities as the Jewish system of divorce or the *halitzah* will not be tolerated in a self-respecting Jewish community.

20. THE NEED FOR SELF-CRITICISM [1]

By JOEL BLAU

TO CHARACTERIZE all opposition to us as without foundation is not the way to cope with anti-Semitism. All anti-Semitism is not due to Christian bias, nor is it of Christian origin. By some inner or outer fatality, the Jew was never beloved of mankind. Jew-hatred harks back to the beginnings of the Jewish people—it is as old as the Jew. It necessitated the first Ghetto in Goshen; but traces thereof are found as early as Abraham's time. The Jewish Bible is the oldest record of anti-Semitism as of Semitism. In the face of the curious fact that we have through timeless time been a target for the hatred of a world, to say that all this was caused by "prejudice," unfounded, unreasoned, blind, is to beg the whole question. . . .

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[1] Extract from an article "The Modern Pharisee" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for January, 1922.

It does not take much of a flaw to detract from the value of the most brilliant gem. A race-personality may have every brilliant trait, every sterling quality, marred by some fatal flaw. The excellences of Jewish individuality are not to be doubted: they are all on the intellectual and moral side. Its flaw, unfortunately, is on the æsthetic side; the Jew lacks form. And form is, if not everything, a great deal. It is the graceful touch that lessens the natural human impact of personality upon personality; that makes a man acceptable to his fellows in spite of his defects, nay, in spite of his virtues. Superiority is a cardinal sin; to atone for it one must possess this grace. Even morals are made tolerable only by manners. Lacking this grace, one becomes a source of vague but persistent irritation. The Jew seems to be a cause of irritation and unease everywhere. It is the mark of the gentleman, not only that he possesses ease, but, chiefly, that he knows how to put others at ease. This is an inimitable faculty; and to its absence must be attributed most of the social discrimination the Jew complains of.

The Jew is, himself, not at ease. Even the most emancipated Jew has something in his eye, something the Ghetto eye is never without—the look of a deer at bay. In no costly bronze or marble was written the grim story of the Jew, but in the cheaper yet more enduring material of Jewish flesh and blood (is there anything cheaper?); in nerve-fibre and brain-cell; in the dumb unvoiced dreams that live below the threshold of consciousness; in gestures and glances—in all the instinctive mimicry of a past that refuses to die. Hence this atmosphere of unease which the Jew carries about him, and which he communicates unwittingly to his surroundings.

The loudness and vulgarity he is often charged with are but extreme manifestations of this unease: the Jew's way of "whistling to keep up his courage." It may be that the æsthetic shortcomings of the Jewish individuality are due to the racial preoccupation with the intellectual and moral aspects of life, to the neglect of the æsthetical, and are the defects of its virtues. But defects they are, nevertheless. Granted the world could forgive the Jew his virtues—his defects never!

However, most grievances against the Jew may be traced not so much to racial shortcomings as to historic causes. And the chief of these causes is that Jewish individuality has come in contact with other national individualities in every land on the face of the globe, and thereby become warped, distorted. *This is the heart of the entire problem.* Certain colors, placed side by side, enhance each other; certain others, when contiguous, kill each other. So also with peoples. If the anti-Semite charges that the Semitic spirit mongrelizes his national culture, the Modern Pharisee complains that the mongrelization is quite mutual. In his concern for the preservation and enhancement of the Jewish type, the latter is horrified to behold to what extent the Semitic strain and spirit become weakened, diluted, hybridized, through contact with alien civilizations. In fact, Jews being a minority people, they are more mongrelized than mongrelizing. Socially and politically the Jew occupies an inferior position; and it is a trite historic observation that, when two races commingle, the weaker race is quicker to adopt the vices than the virtues of the dominant race: Christians, for instance, have always been more successful in spreading among uncivilized tribes whiskey and white plague than in propagating the gospel and salvation. Whatever grain of truth there may be in anti-Semitic charges must be traced to this social phenomenon. We are grateful to the anti-Semites for having called our attention to it; in guarding against mongrelization at the hand of Jews, they will help us to preserve our own type. It looks to us as if anti-Semitism were an International Benevolent Society for the Preservation of Semitism.

If Jewish individuality were left to itself, given ample latitude to develop along its own lines, wholesomely and normally, it would, by the moral intensity, moral earnestness, moral vision of the everlasting Pharisee spirit, produce one of the most attractive human types. The fault lies largely, if not wholly, in wrong contacts. For example, we are being charged with Bolshevism on the one hand, and on the other with materialism. We are alleged to be both the rabid enemies and the avid lovers of wealth. In our Bolsheviki the world refuses to see the prophetic passion for social justice, as in our bankers the intellectual ability forcibly directed toward ruthless acquisition. But is Jewish Bolshevism in Russia other than Jewish intensity in contact with and perverted by Slav morbidity and mysticism? And what is the crass Jewish materialism in America, if not Jewish intensity in contact with and perverted by Yankee business acumen?

21. SYNAGOGUE AND KEHILLAH[1]

By Mordecai M. Kaplan

THERE are two social institutions which are indispensable to Jewish life in those countries where our political status is of the American type—the Synagogue and the Kehillah. The first has to be reorganized; the second is still to be established. The Synagogue must become a Beth-Am, a neighborhood center where Jews may foster their social and cultural as well as religious interests. The

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[1] Extracts from an article, "Toward a Reconstruction of Judaism," in *The Menorah Journal* for April, 1927, p. 125 *et seq.*

Synagogue must be transformed into a communal center to which Jews should be able to resort with a goodly number of their workaday problems. It should provide them with opportunities for utilizing their leisure to best intellectual and spiritual advantage. It should strengthen the bonds of friendship among them and endeavor to prevent by means of arbitration committees their litigating in the courts. A Synagogue in the sense of a Beth-Am would lead to a more fruitful division of labor among those who hold the position of leadership in Jewish life. The rabbi, the scholar, the social worker, and the lay leader would each have his well-defined function and would serve in a capacity that would make him a potent factor for the enhancement both of the outer and inner life of Jewry, so that men of high talent would be attracted to the exercise of Jewish leadership. As an instance of how the Synagogue as at present constituted does little to enrich Jewish spiritual life, we may cite the fact that the American rabbi has been prevented, by the manifold duties imposed upon him that lie outside of his proper field, from making any worthwhile contribution to Jewish scholarship that can in any way compare with those made by rabbis in Germany. Nor can the American rabbi boast of having made much headway in the field of Jewish education. Whatever Jewish scholarship we possess in this country is practically all imported. The mental energy that should have been used for the creation of permanent forms of religious expression, such as is embodied in liturgical hymns and prayers and music, is dissipated in endless sermonizing, the value of which at best can never be more than transient.

The second social institution which is essential to Jewish life in America is the Kehillah. The Kehillah should be an organization of individual Jews who, differ as they may in religious belief and practice, are agreed that Jewish group life in the Diaspora should be continued and developed. In view of the intellectual and religious diversity of those constituting such a Kehillah, it would have to be organized on party lines. But all parties would have to agree on the following aims:

1. To make it possible for all Jews, regardless of financial status, to share the benefits of a Beth-Am or Synagogue.

2. To promote a fully developed system of Jewish education comprising kindergartens, weekday afternoon schools, evening courses (both elementary and advanced) for adults, training schools for rabbis, teachers and social workers.

3. To maintain philanthropic institutions.

4. To further the upholding of Palestine. . . .

What of the reconstruction which should take place in the content of Judaism? As a civilization, the content of Judaism presents problems which may be classified as those dealing with (1) the reinterpretation of its ideology, (2) the reorganization of its laws, (3) the expansion of its language, (4) the utilization of the creative arts, and (5) the humanization of its religion. . . .

5. The one cultural element in the Jewish civilization which will have to constitute the object of outstanding interest in the future, as it did in the past, is religion. In saying this we do not mean to imply that we should like to see the now extinct theological volcanoes become active again. But there is a sense in which religion is no less essential to civilization than literature and the fine arts. The modern attempt to secularize civilizations is really an attempt to substitute new religions for old. By banishing the religion which it designated as an opiate, Sovietism is trying to create a religion which is to act as a tonic. It has already furnished Russian civilization with new saints.

It is generally admitted that the kind of religion which will thrive in the future will not be based on tradition and authority. Its source and its point of reference will have to be personal experience. It will represent an original grasp upon life, and not adherence to tradition for tradition's sake only. However, the mistake generally made about this kind of religion is in the belief that it will be purely cosmopolitan and will have nothing to do with any civilization in particular. The truth, however, is that religion must have a degree of particularity, as much as literature or any of the arts. That does not prevent it from possessing universal significance. The end of clericalism does not mean an end to public concern in the fostering of religion. No work of art that fails to be an expression of personal reaction to reality can have any value. We can, nevertheless, conceive a whole nation deeply interested in encouraging works of art. Likewise, the Jews, by reason of their past contribution to the religious life, should feel a stronger urge to encourage creativeness in the field of religion than any other people. The Jewish civilization henceforth should demand not belief in religious dogmas or the observance of religious practices in a spirit of obedience to authority, but an active interest in religion and in its possibilities for the enlargement of human horizons and the socialization of the human being.

The question whether living Judaism as a civilization would impair the Jew's loyalty to his country cannot be answered intelligently unless we note carefully what the actual inner life of any citizen in a modern state must be. As a result of a particular conjuncture of historic forces, the citizen of a modern state is not only permitted but encouraged to give allegiance to two civilizations; one, the secular civilization of the country in which he lives, and the other, the Christian civilization which he has inherited from the past. He turns to the civilization of his country for his political concepts and institutions and for his literary and æsthetic values. From his national life arise those duties of political allegiance which the political experiences of the nation have evolved. He turns to the Christian civilization for his moral and spiritual sanctions. It has been said that only when a church has taken its place along with his earthly fatherland in the deepest recesses of his heart, is a man saved from becoming a mere reasoning machine. The very separation of church from state has put into the class of hyphenates all who adhere to both institutions. The hyphenism which justifies the Christian in hyphenating his Christianity with Americanism, justifies also the Jew in hyphenating his Jewishness with Americanism.

In sum, those who look to Judaism, in its present state, to provide them with a ready-made scheme of salvation in this world, or in the next, are bound to be disappointed. The Jew will have to save Judaism before Judaism will be in a position to save the Jew. The Jew is so circumstanced now that the only way he can achieve salvation is by replenishing the "wells of salvation" which have run dry. He must restate, rethink and reorganize the civilization of his people. To do that he must be willing to live up to a program that spells nothing less than a maximum of Jewishness. This is by no means a task for those who love comfort and regularity. It calls for a degree of honesty that abhors all forms of self-delusion, for a temper that reaches out to new consummations, for the type of courage that is not deterred by uncharted regions. If this be the spirit in which we shall accept from the past the mandate to be Jews, and allow the present to inform us how to be Jews, the contemporary crisis in Jewish life will prove to be the birth-throes of a new era in the civilization of the Jewish people.

22. TRUE TO THE TORAH[1]

By LEO JUNG

ORTHODOXY has had no chance to be known in its theory by the American Jew, and to be seen in practice in its full strength and beauty, and therefore it has not failed. Reform Judaism has at its disposal, and makes full use of, the leaders of the general daily, and to a great extent the weekly, Jewish press. Its champions are captains of commerce and industry, pillars of society, friends of men in high places. At their beck are millions of dollars, legions of orators—they have all the advantage of a sturdy first comer. But Orthodoxy hitherto has been neither articulate nor organized, nor representative of itself in any meaning of this word. It hasn't even begun to appear in its clear light. American Jewry has never rejected Orthodox Judaism, for American Jewry has never seen what Orthodox Judaism is.

Orthodox Judaism, or, as we prefer to call it, Torah-true Judaism, is the genuine historical faith of our people, which is to express itself through the medium of a true Jewish life. It is as a kingdom of priests and a holy nation that we were called into being, and the great truths of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man were to be expressed by the mode of life which the Torah prescribes and counsels.

In order that we may translate the ideals of the Torah into living reality, we are bid to be ever alive to these postulates:

1. *Taskilu Bekhol asher taassu*[2]—which means, "Do all that you do in the most intelligent manner." Even the

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[1] Extract from *Living Judaism,* The Night and Day Press, 1927, p. 209, *et seq.*

[2] Debarim 29:8.

greatest idea will lose its force and effectiveness if it is brought before men in a clumsy, thoughtless fashion.

2. Our rabbis tell us that it is a definite religious duty, *hithnach lefanav bemitzvoth* [1]—which means, "To fulfill his commands in the most æsthetic manner." The most perfect dish will become repulsive if it is served on a musty plate. The most soul-stirring melody will fail on a defective instrument. The great ideas and ideals of true Judaism will fail in their appeal if they are presented in ugly form.

3. The ladder of Jacob, we are told, with its top reached heaven, but its foot rested firmly on the ground. Moses, it is true, spent forty days and nights with Eternity, but he taught us that religion was not above in Heaven, nor beyond the sea, but on earth, in human speech and in human hearts. The editor of the *Mishnah,* Rabbi Judah the Prince, bids us choose a path of life which will also be beautiful in the sight of man: *Vetifereth lo min ha-adam.*[2]

These principles of conduct and method are commended to us Jews not only as pleasant ways of self-expression, but as essential conditions for the success of our labors for Judaism. Orthodox Jews, therefore, are not doing their duty as Orthodox Jews if they are satisfied with anything less than this. . . .

The Synagogue

The Orthodox Synagogue, in accordance with the law of Judaism, should be a place of which we think with reverence; in which the message of the Torah is given in clear terms, in Jewish *Kavanah* (devotion) and *Hithlahabuth* (enthusiasm); in which decorum and the spirit of holiness prevails; which our elders enter with such detachment from the manner and thoughts of the world without that the children

[1] Talm. Babli, Succah IIb.
[2] Mishnah Abot IIi.

would have borne upon them the fact that they are approaching God, communing with their Maker, uttering the prayers into which historic Israel has poured his hopes and his woes, his tears and his joys.

But what did and what does the average Orthodox Synagogue represent? A disheartening spectacle of disorder. The Jewish message came in a foreign tongue, Yiddish, and in a foreign method, and therefore did not reach the youth. The average Orthodox Synagogue, however orthodox in all other respects, is utterly unorthodox in this lack of an inspiring word to the younger generation, utterly unorthodox in its uncleanliness, utterly unorthodox in its lack of decorum, utterly unorthodox in the crude behavior of the worshippers. If the parents of our youth had made it their set purpose to drive their children away from the Jewish synagogue, they could have employed no better method for that end than the management and the conduct prevalent in the average "shul." A place dedicated to the worship of God, which the parents enter with a cheap sense of being-at-home, without any respect for its sacredness, in which the prayers are accompanied by promiscuous conversation, could not but become repulsive to the inner feelings of reverence in our boys and girls. If our young people refuse to go to synagogue, they do not do so because they reject Orthodoxy. They keep away from the synagogue not because of what is orthodox in it but precisely because of such of its elements as are non-orthodox; its lack of Jewish training for the child, its noise, its indecorum. Our youth here drift away not because the message of the synagogue is distasteful to them, but because they have never received it. . . .

The School

The second means of conveying the living message of Judaism is the school. . . . What do your young men and women recall when Hebrew School is mentioned? Matters have improved of late, but even now the great majority of orthodox schools are housed in cellars or basements with a minimum of light and fresh air. They are dusty, malodorous, and utterly unattractive. How often have we found that the teacher's sole qualification for teaching our Torah, for moulding the mind and the character of our youth, lay in the fact that he was unfit for any other occupation or profession? And today, when we have succeeded in building a number of Orthodox Talmud Torahs, which in technical matters do come up to the standard of public schools—is it not a fact that another problem has arisen even graver than that of old?

We, who are in charge of schools, both rabbis and laymen, know that the average teacher of Hebrew, to whom we are entrusting our child, does not practice what he preaches, does not believe what he teaches. How many Orthodox Talmud Torahs have we today whose principals and presidents are sure that those who are to instruct the pupils, know not only how to speak Hebrew but how to think in Hebrew, how to live Hebrew lives—and do not deliberately relegate Torah and Mitzvah to the waste room, in favor of the latest fad in popular psychology or religious unrest.

Children cannot be deceived. They have an uncanny sense for realities, and they feel behind outward conformity what is the true spiritual background of the man who teaches them. Hence, they receive the instruction in our faith as soulless information, incongruous as a message and unstable as a motto of life, empty of heartful inspiration. The orthodox school therefore again has failed in that aspect which is truly orthodox and which would have gone a long way towards attracting and rallying our youth. The young man who rejects the orthodox school and looks upon Talmud

Torah or Cheder as a place to be abhorred, as something he has been happy to leave the day after becoming *bar mitzvah,* is typical of our youth. He has not rejected orthodox schooling. He has rejected the third rate school which the orthodox Jew, harassed by a hundred disabilities, has provided for him, a school unorthodox in its lack of system, unorthodox in the teacher's lack of intellectual honesty, unorthodox in its utter innocence of systematic program, curriculum, or schedule.

The rabbi of such a school or such a synagogue, usually very learned, very honest, and very conscientious, did not and does not understand the language of the child and its general outlook. He lacked and still lacks intellectual sympathy with the problems of youth. He spoke to them in a language which they could not know; and their own language has been a sealed book to him. All they knew of him was that he was part and parcel of a system which in its two forms, "Shul" and school, was utterly distasteful to them, and so they judged the Rav as they judged the orthodox school, as they judged the orthodox synagogue. What the youth rejected and still rejects is precisely this non-orthodox aspect of the orthodox Jewish institutions of this country.

The Home

What is the Jewish home? It is, if truly orthodox, a place in which the spirit of God rests, in which husband and wife, father and mother live a life steeped in idealism tempered by common sense. A miniature sanctuary. Wherever true Judaism prevails in a Jewish home, there the children feel that the father's greatest hope is for the Jewishness of his child, that the mother's fondest dream is the Jewishness of her daughter; that loyalty to the law of God, to the ideals of our people, is considered more valuable than money or social recognition. . . .

An Orthodox Jewish home is a home in which the ideas underlying the various ceremonies are brought home to the children in their full beauty, a home in which nothing Jewish is strange or remains unexplained, in which the mezuzah on the door stands for the Godliness of which it is an outward symbol. If our youth in this country had seen such Jewish houses and had deliberately drifted from them, we should indeed have every reason for desponding. But with very few exceptions they have never seen a truly Orthodox Jewish home. What they call orthodox means a household in which an overworked father and a slaving mother endeavor to make both ends meet, in which ignorance (of the vernacular or of Judaism, or of both) prevented the parents from transmitting to their children an appreciation of Jewish values; or in which sudden affluence had robbed the inhabitants of mental and spiritual balance, so that, in exultation over their big gains, they lost their self-respect and became honorless imitators of the prevailing fashion.

Thus the American youth has not yet known what Orthodoxy is in theory and has never yet seen it in practice. The American youth has never rejected true Orthodoxy. This is the fundamental truth which I should like to drive home, and this is the definite foundation upon which we may build our fondest hopes. . . .

The Task

Orthodoxy in the United States has come to a sorry pass because in this country it has hitherto failed in its three organs of expression: the synagogue, the school, and the home. The obvious result of such failure can be seen today in the fact that the pulpit, the home, and the synagogue, in so far as they are controlled by the new generation, are usually non- and frequently anti-orthodox. Hence a great deal of present-day pessimism: "How can we, with our lack of efficient messengers of the Torah, revive genuine Jewishness in our country, as against the united vociferous efforts of hostile and indifferent pulpits, classrooms, and homes?". . .

The men at the helm at last have aroused themselves. At last they have realized that the Yeshivah, to be able to recreate the organs of public expression, the organized mouthpiece of faithful Israel, needs first of all an attractive exterior to develop its potentialities; must move from its obscure place on the Lower East Side to its rightful place as the mother of American Israel. . . .

The Yeshivah will prepare the opportunity for true Judaism, which in this country has never yet existed, so that it may appear, not as careless partisans and unscrupulous foes have depicted it, but as what it is—a system of life based upon truth and respect, upon love and honesty, the greatest message of human history, and the only guarantee for a Jewish future. . . .

The New Yeshivah represents the hope, and a very justified one, in the steady rebirth of American Jewish consciousness, of the collective and individual God-consciousness of Israel. The very boldness of the plan guarantees the rediscovery of our creative genius which has enriched so many foreign vineyards and distant fields. Once the orthodox Jew is aroused, once he has been taught to look up again, to look upon himself as the seed from which the tree of full Jewish life may grow up, once the orthodox Jew has been guided to a broader vista, the glorious potentialities of the Torah, this building will assume proportions undreamed of even now. The orthodox Jew is just about to discover himself. He has not yet tapped his energies. Of his tremendous reserve powers, of his endless wealth and deathless energies, he himself has but dim notions. We know that the orthodox Jew is the mainstay of his people only when he is truly orthodox. That means manful, active; that means struggling, worrying, anxious about the future of his children. Let us teach the orthodox Jew, therefore, the courage of his convictions to think consistently and to act upon his consistent thought. . . .

The time of the real American Orthodox Jew has not yet arrived. He is still in the womb of history. The New Yeshivah and the Union in its many activities and Young Israel and the awakening self-consciousness of the loyal masses of our people will help to prepare us for years of hard toil, of slow uphill work, which will tax to the utmost our patience and our energies. Only after several decades of honest toil, incessant labor, and never-narrowed ambition shall we be granted the vision of the true Jew emerging out of the chaos of present-day Orthodoxy. Only hard, hard work, patience and humility, discipline and loyal service will bring about this consummation. When he arrives, by sheer strength of personality, the orthodox Jew will laugh out of existence the self-assertion of those religious barbers, who would trim genuine Jewishness even to extinction. The Torah-true, the real Jew, will rebuild the ruins of the past. He will again be blessed with the inspiration of Jewish life. A true aristocrat, he will sound the Shofar to awaken Jewish conscience, to arouse Jewish loyalty. He will reopen the gates of our past, will cause the flood of Jewish idealism to stream forth, reviving, fructifying, ennobling. He will lead our youth to the sources of our history, displaying before their amazed eyes the splendor of Jewish achievement. He will fire them with love and a sacred zeal, to build again, to build on the rock-bottom foundation of Jewish historical ambition. True to Torah he will be happy at home, virile and eager abroad. He will teach duty as the privilege of the elect, and he will teach the Jews of the world the glory of Jacob—which is his humility. His children will be well informed and courageous, considerate to all, and standing in reverence of their Creator. He will bring to light again the Jewish gentleman, loyal to the law of God—hence leading mankind to its appointed destiny of self-earned perfection and kindness.

23. THE MEANING OF JUDAISM FOR JEWISH YOUTH[1]

By James Marshall

NOT so many years ago it was commonly believed that the salvation of Israel was to be found in political, social and economic equality. Although those who accepted this theory would not for a moment have suggested that the longevity and vitality of Judaism were the result of political liberty or of economic success or of freedom of worship, yet somehow the achievement of these was supposed to provide new fertility for the tree of Israel.

In the United States the benefits of equality have now been attained for all practical purposes. Every number of every Jewish weekly in the land points with pride to some Jewish judge or governor, to Jewish bankers, real estate operators and merchants, to members of the faith who are actors and authors and editors, or who have been honored for some success dear to the heart of their fellow Americans. American Jewry has achieved a position of economic splendor and political security unknown to Jews since the days of Solomon's glory. For even among the Moors the Jewish people were not as fortunate as they are today because they did not possess what was then the basis of wealth and power; they were not great landowners nor did they support bands of armed retainers.

But with the passing of ghetto life there have gone the

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[1] Extract from an article, "The Workshop of Israel," in *The Menorah Journal* for April, 1928, p. 361.

Talmud Torah and the influence of the Rabbi. The Jewish youth goes to the public schools and the great universities of the country, where he is washed in a pale solution of Greek philosophy, Anglo-Saxon political ideology and experimental science, which gradually hides his Jewish background under the dye of this Western modernity.

In the course of achieving this new equality, this luxury, power, and learning, the Jews of America have generation by generation abandoned as many of the ancient customs of Israel as they safely could without incurring the disapproval of other Jews in whose society they have lived and upon whose good will they have relied. Saturday is no longer a day of rest; *Shabbat* in some instances has been transferred to Sunday; and the synagogues which are the outgrowth of the nineteenth century Reformation have succeeded in uncovering the heads of their worshippers, reducing the observance of holidays, and making Hebrew a dead language indeed. One does not have to search far to discover the self-consciousness of numerous American Jews when the customs which they still retain serve to distinguish them from their fellow Americans. There is no general communal life; except in matters of philanthropy, nothing that arouses general Jewish interest except the cry of anti-Semitism.

The contact of the young people with the synagogues has been becoming more tenuous and thus far even the establishment of Jewish Centers does not seem to have done more than to create a certain social stability. The trend from the synagogue, the weakening hold of theology and the effect of the agnosticism of university thought are not peculiar to Judaism. Recently the Protestant churches of America reported the loss of half a million members. But among the Jews this flow of modernity is blended with a sense of shame at being a people apart; and one is aware of a growing desire of American Jews, especially of the well-to-do whose pockets hold the key to many gates, to become assimilated.

The American rabbinate has neither the materials nor the genius to cope with the spiritual dissolution which the congregation is undergoing under the blessings of freedom. For no group of men can stem such a popular tide; only some rare genius can at times guide and utilize its power, as Paul did with the legend of Jesus, and Lenin with the philosophy of Marx and the spirit of the Russian people.

Thus today in America Jewry, like a chameleon, has taken on the colors of its new surroundings. Its soul remains divided between the memory of its Eastern heritage—of traditions nursed through centuries of ghetto life—and the interests of the community which has received it. Its thought has been cast increasingly in the American vernacular, while the cultural and spiritual strength of American Judaism has been steadily on the wane.

Yet, when all is said, there is for the mass of Jews something so precious in Judaism, so vital to them, that they are unready to adopt assimilation even when they no longer accept divine authority, and they are unwilling to abdicate their heritage even when their loyalty to it involves some sacrifice and means no good of which they can be sure. There have been any number of attempts to analyze the nature of the vital essence of Jewish feeling which unites the third and fourth generation university-bred Jew of America, for example, with the Jew of the recent immigration or the European Jew who still remains in the ghetto. And it has been the greatest need and effort of twentieth-century Jewry to utilize this force in Jewish communal life.

The most vital movement toward this end in modern times is Zionism.

24. RESEARCH AND LEADERSHIP[1]

By BEN M. SELEKMAN

WHAT CAN scientific research offer toward the formulation of a program for our life in America? Probably no question, in a final analysis, could be more important to us, since the great bulk of Jews now in America will remain here permanently. Before the war there seemed to be little question as to our established future in America. The past had brought us power and the respect of our fellow-Americans; what could future years bring us but continued power and respect? Yet today we Jews find our status in America challenged. Within a decade we have seen the rise of anti-Semitism, the unrest of the young generation, serious questioning on the part of even liberal Americans of our right to maintain a separate group existence. The problem arising from these circumstances appears broadly twofold. First, what should be the nature of our relationship to the whole American community? Second, what should be the organization of the American Jewish community within itself?

Consider, under the first head, for instance, the matter of defense against anti-Semitism. To my mind, the application of research methods alone can yield a positive answer to the charges made against us. It would help us discover, in the first place, just what is the problem with which we must deal. How little we know, after all, about the true nature of anti-Semitism, its origins, growth and causes. Articles a-plenty have been written. But they are the products in the main of individual viewpoints and of isolated instances; what we need is a concrete field study of just what anti-Semitism in America is. . . . What are the economic and social factors behind anti-Semitism in America? Just what specific events have led to outbreaks of anti-Semitism, and just what forms in detail has anti-Semitism in America taken? How much are its outbreaks tied up to general forces, and to what extent do they represent isolated cases of social friction? How does anti-Semitism in America compare with the same phenomenon abroad?

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[1] From an article with that title in *The Menorah Journal* for April-May, 1926, page 117.

The second prerequisite for a positive answer to anti-Semitism is a sociological picture showing just how Jews really function in the American scene. This, of course, does not mean the listing of all prominent business men, artists, scientists and professionals in America who happen to be born Jews, but rather a comprehensive survey of the life of American Jews as a whole. To this end typical communities, both large and small, should be selected for study. In them the daily life of Jewish residents, both as individuals and in groups, could be observed and recorded. How many are in business, how many in the professions, how many are artists and intellectuals, how many wage-earners? In what businesses, in what types of mental work, in what industries do Jews tend to concentrate in selected localities and in the country as a whole? How do the activities of Jews in small towns compare with those in the large cities? What provisions are made for the group religious life in those small towns, what economic place is won there by Jews, what happens to the sons and daughters of Jews faced with restricted opportunities? . . .

A striking answer to the folly of the anti-Semites would be contained in a social and economic history of American Jews. En masse, they came to America from eastern Europe only since the eighties. They have been here, therefore, scarcely more than a generation. A ghetto folk, poor and despised, these Jews did not find in America the "golden land" of which they had dreamed. They found instead an America hungry for man power, men to people her last western frontier, to dig coal, to build roads, to roll steel. But Jews, unlike the Italians, Poles, Slavs and other mass immigrants, did not enter these basic industries. An urban people, unaccustomed to the regimen of large-scale, machine-driven wage industry, they perforce found other means of livelihood in the big cities and small towns where they settled. They became the sweatshop workers of the metropolis, the junk dealers and peddlers of the small towns. Economic scavengers on the fringe of industry, they hung on to industrial America by their very nails. Gradually they dug in. A generation later, the sweatshop has become a modern factory. Many evils of the slum have disappeared. The erstwhile sweated worker has become a well-paid artisan protected by his own powerful union. The peddler, the junk-dealer, has emerged a respected merchant, a leading citizen of his community. And not only have these poverty-stricken immigrants from the east of Europe converted parasitic industries into economic services; they have also built social structures upon them. Commercial arbitration is supplanting court litigation in them. The once sweated workers and the sweated industries are evolving a method for the peaceful adjustment of disputes between management and men—the method of "impartial machinery" in the needle trades known to all students of industry. Stridency, loudness, brassiness, "prominent" Jews, bankers, Rotarians, all these things have been recorded of the Jews. But the epic of a Jewish people making its own opportunity in new America and repaying a thousandfold whatever hospitality has been shown it, has yet to be written. . . .

The problem of race relations in daily life suggests another piece of research through which Jews might make a lasting contribution not only to their own welfare but to minorities everywhere.[1] The fundamental question here is, after all, by what technique can peoples of various cultures live together in amicable neighborliness? Therefore it is important to know just how Jews and Gentiles actually do live together as neighbors throughout the length and breadth of the United States. Jews might well initiate investigations into typical neighborhoods where Jews and Gentiles live together in generally friendly relations as well as into those where the relations are dominantly hostile and antagonistic. What conditions, what combinations of circumstances and people seem to make for friendly group contacts, and what for unfriendly? In the same connection, significant facts might be obtained from a detailed study of those institutions in which race friction seems to a large extent to have been curbed. Trade unions dominated by Jews should offer an extraordinarily fertile field for such inquiries. In the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, for instance, there have been united under Jewish leadership such diverse and mutually hostile people as Poles, Russians, Jews, Lithuanians, Bohemians, and Italians. What has produced this remarkable result?

Such surveys of the mode of life of Jews in typical American communities today would reveal, of course, just what types of contributions Jews have been making to American civilization as a whole. In fact, countless subjects of inquiry suggest themselves. Consider, for instance, the possibilities inherent in interpretative biographies of outstanding individuals among us. Under what conditions do Jews like Brandeis, Marshall, Warburg, Rosenwald, Brown, the

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[1] It is gratifying to record that in the last few years there has appeared quite a considerable new literature reporting on studies in this field. (*See* "And Who Is My Neighbor?" The Inquiry, 1928.) THE EDITOR.

Filenes, Kirstein, and others become leaders in the non-Jewish as well as the Jewish community? Again, why in one famous and progressive firm founded by American Jews, William Filene's Sons, do we have E. A. Filene and A. L. Filene choosing the philosophy and life of assimilation and Louis Kirstein choosing the life of a Jewish leader? What, further, have been the outstanding contributions made by Jewish groups in various fields? In industries dominated by the Jewish group, as just noted, there is the creation of machinery for the voluntary arbitration of industrial disputes. Has the establishment of such a device to insure stability in the midst of industrial conflict any roots in the Jewish heritage? If not, why has this innovation come from the Jewish needle trades? Similarly, how do we explain the dominant rôle played by Jews in the elimination of the sweatshop and slum?

What, in detail, then, have the Jewish group migrations to America really accomplished; what have been the contributions to American civilization of both individuals and the entire group of Jews who came here from Germany, from Russia, from Austria? Dr. W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki have produced a monumental work in *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America.* Could not Jewish scholarship produce also illuminating and pertinent results by a study of the ghetto Jew in Europe and America? What, for instance, are the true facts of the Jewish labor movement in America? What has been the turnover of Jews within American social classes? Case studies could be undertaken of the movement among Jews from the shop to contracting, from jobber to real estate dealer, from wage-earning to the professions.

Research could help, similarly, to light up the life that Jews might lead in the United States as Jews. Do we not need a periodic census? Would it not be very illuminating to learn, for instance, the exact amount of intermarriage made within the Jewish American group, and compare it with the number of intermarriages within other compact national and religious groups? How many Jews in America regularly attend some synagogue or temple? And of these, how many attend in the orthodox, in the reform, in the ethical culture, in other houses of worship? Will Yiddish disappear with the cessation of immigration?

The fate of the Jewish tradition in the new world is, of course, compounded of many elements, each of which requires separate analysis. The people who brought it to American shores came from different lands; they settled down into different types of life in the United States; in addition, Israel has been growing from within with the march of the times. It would be difficult to find a field of investigation offering more possibilities than an anthropological study of Jewish life in America in something of the same vein that anthropologists are now studying Negro life. There are some studies already launched that would well repay extended research. Why should we not go on with Julius Drachsler's interesting attempt to discover the extent to which biological separation and cultural assimilation are possible?[1] Professor Boas presented a remarkable study of the bodily effects produced by the new world environment upon immigrants and the children of immigrants, which tended to reveal changes in the American-born children of immigrant parents. Why not a further intensive study of the transformations of this sort produced in the children of various types of Jews (German, Russian, Galician, etc.); how do they differ, if at all, from their fathers? There is significance, of course, in the rise to power among us of the Russian and other eastern European Jews. In terms of their distinctive characteristics and outlook, what does their new position mean to the future of American Jewry?

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[1] See footnote, p. 142.

A crucial problem which would repay research is the overwhelmingly predominant place still accorded philanthropy in Jewish communal life in America. Jewish philanthropic agencies arose chiefly from the grave dislocations suddenly produced in Jewish life in the new land by the mass influx of well over a million people from Eastern Europe. Arrived in an alien land, with alien speech, alien customs, alien outlook, it was inevitable that many of these masses should find it difficult to secure an economic foothold. Facing the initial hardships of adaptation, everything in the Jewish tradition led them to expect aid from their more fortunate brethren. By and large, these needy people found the aid they sought. But with the cessation of large-scale immigration, is the need for large-scale relief as pressing as it used to be? Should philanthropy continue to occupy the central place in the communal budget when the very situation out of which it arose is no more? Indeed, certain developments within social agencies themselves serve to indicate the change that is taking place. Scientific social work has already changed its emphasis from charity and relief to educational and preventive work. So real has this change become that the United Hebrew Charities in New York recently changed its name to the Jewish Social Service Association as a means of removing all possibilities of misunderstanding carried over from the old day. Present-day society generally is coming to stress self-help, education, prevention and adjustment. In a word, although there will probably remain for some time certain problems of relief, the rise of other agencies for self-help (like the trade unions), the disappearance of poor immigrant masses, and the new emphasis on prevention and adjustment and education both inside and outside social agencies, are bound to remove the old tradition of philanthropy from its central place in Jewish

American life. Money will undoubtedly be needed in continuingly large amounts for the work of social agencies; but must not other types of activities, too long neglected, receive greater recognition in the communal budget?

And what of Jewish education? What really do we mean by Jewish education? What is its content to be? What purposes as Jews do we seek to achieve by our group life? In other words, education for what? There is little doubt, if the amount of discussion we hear of in communities through the length and breadth of the land is any criterion, that problems of Jewish education are coming to occupy the forefront of the consciousness of Jews of all shades of opinion. Specialists in the field have already indicated, in papers in *The Menorah Journal* and elsewhere, what courses seem to them most promising, and I shall not venture to discuss this problem, except to note that no field is likely to prove more amenable to scientific research than this. Certainly, here as in the other fields, a plethora of problems, all of them fundamental and immediately important to American Jewish leadership, await the scientist in Jewish life.

PART III

A READING LIST[1]

I. ARTICLES

A. TESTIMONY OF EXPERIENCE

1. IN ECONOMIC LIFE

Jewish Handicaps in the Employment Market. Bruno Lasker. *Jewish Social Service Quarterly,* March, 1926, p. 170. *See extract,* p. 64.

The Jew and the Job. The Causes, Reasons and Excuses. An editorial on above article, *ibid.,* p. 49.

Too Jewish. An editorial. (A business firm withdrew its patronage because the firm's advertisement was too near an advertisement for Matzoth.) *The Jewish Tribune,* April 1, 1927, p. 8.

Is the Jewish boy or Girl Handicapped in the Business, Literary, or Professional World? (A symposium.) *The Jewish Forum.* Shebat (January), 1925, p. 82.

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[1] The classification of these references follows as closely as possible the major sections of the study outline in Part I (page 37 *et seq.*), so that relevant information on the questions there raised may readily be found. Since such practical use of the list rather than exhaustiveness was the aim, only accessible titles, and these for the most part of recent date, have been included. Obviously, many articles cover more than one sectional topic, and their listing under our arrangement, to suit a special purpose, does not necessarily indicate their entire or even their major content. A few articles which touch upon many phases of this outline are given in a general section at the end. This reference list has been compiled, for the most part, by Abraham Berger, of the Jewish Division of the New York Public Library.

Wise, Stephen S. Anti-Jewish Discrimination in Employment. *Jewish Tribune,* December 6, 1929, p. 5.

Wolpert, Nathan Nelson. Christians Only. (On the "help wanted" columns of the daily papers.) *The Jewish Tribune,* May 28, 1926, p. 1.

Friedenberg, A. M. Sunday Laws in the United States and Judicial Decisions Having Reference to Jews. *American Jewish Year Book, 5669,* p. 152.

Battle, George Gordon. Jew and non-Jew in the Legal Profession. *The American Hebrew,* September 22, 1922, p. 449.

Ely, Hanson E. The Jew in the Army. *The American Hebrew.* September 14, 1928, p. 542.

Jewish Doctors of Tomorrow. An editorial. ("Jewish medical students have inadequate opportunities for interneship in hospitals providing high grade training; a menace to Jews in the profession.") *The Jewish Tribune,* March 13, 1925, p. 6. *Also* A 2 a.

Dickinson, T. H. The Jew in the Theater. *The Nation,* June 13, 1923, p. 689.

Eaton, Walter Prichard. Jews in the American Theatre. *The American Hebrew,* September 22, 1922, p. 464.

The Case of David Halfant. (A teacher at Columbia who committed suicide.) An editorial. *Jewish Social Service Quarterly,* June, 1928, p. 349. *Also* A 2 a.

Samuel Tenenbaum. The Problem of the Jew as Teacher. *The Jewish Tribune,* October 14, p. 1, and 28, 1927, p. 2. (See extract, p. 75.) *Also* A 2 a.

Melamed S. M. An Academic Boycott. *The Reflex.* December, 1927, p. 1. *Also* A 2 a.

2. IN SOCIAL LIFE.

Fishberg, Maurice, M.D. Assimilation. *The Menorah Journal,* February, 1920, p. 25.

Hall, G. Stanley (President, Clark University). Yankee and Jew. (An afternoon address.) *The Menorah Journal,* April, 1915, p. 87.

Hay, Mary Garrett. When Jewish and Christian Women Meet. *The American Hebrew.* September 22, 1922, p. 448.

Herman, N. About Social Discrimination Against Jews in America. *Reflex,* July, 1928, p. 16.

Jews and Christians. A symposium with articles by Felix Adler, Franz Boas and others. *The World Tomorrow,* January, 1923.

Lindeman, E. C. The Future of Gentile-Jewish Relations. *The Reflex,* July, 1927, p. 16.

Richmond, Harry R. A Hotel Experience. Reprinted from *The Baltimore Jewish Times* in "And Who Is My Neighbor?", the Inquiry, 1924, p. 161.

When Jew and non-Jew Meet. A series of articles by Israel Zangwill, Alexander A. Goldenweiser, Julian Morgenstern, Mary Garrett Hay, G. G. Battle, A. H. Silver, Isaac Landman, C. C. Little, W. P. Eaton, H. S. Bodin, Col. H. Weinstock, Vernon Kellogg, David Starr Jordan. *The American Hebrew,* September 22, 1922.

Why Not Shun These Places? [Exclusive Resorts] (An Editorial) *American Hebrew,* August 16, 1929, p. 370.

2a. AS TO EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

A Christian Student. Prejudice at Columbia University. *Jewish Tribune,* March 15, 1929, p. 1.

Anderson, Paul Ernest. Are American Colleges Tainted? (A discussion of the academic status of Jewish students.) *The American Hebrew,* June 10, 1927, p. 219.

Berg, Ida V. The Jewish-Gentile Problem at the University of Wisconsin. *Jewish Tribune,* February 14, 1930, p. 4.

Bergman, Bernard A. A Survey of Campus Prejudice. *Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly,* March, 1923, p. 20.

Blau, Joel. The Case of Jewish Education. *The Menorah Journal,* February, 1925, p. 1.

Christian-Jewish Relationship in Our Colleges. (An editorial.) *American Hebrew,* June 28, 1929, p. 197.

Cordish, Paul L. The Jew in College (as observed by one of them). *The Jewish Forum,* October, 1927, p. 515.

Escoll, Morris J. The Jewish Student in Our Universities. *The Menorah Journal,* October, 1915, p. 217.

Exclusion of Jews from Colleges. An editorial. *The American Hebrew,* May 7, 1926, p. 863.

Exclusion from College. An editorial. *The Outlook,* July 5, 1922, p. 406.

Grecht, Rebecca. Anti-Semitism at Barnard. *The Nation,* October 4, 1922, p. 337.

Gildersleeve, Virginia C. Class and Creed at Barnard. (A reply to the above article.) *The Nation,* December 6, 1922, p. 607.

Goldenweiser, Alexander A. The Jew and the University. *The American Hebrew,* September 22, 1922, p. 446.

Heller, James G. Americanizing Our Universities. *The Jewish Exponent* (Philadelphia), November 10, 1922, p. 1.

Jewish Status in American Colleges. *The American Hebrew,* December 29, 1922, p. 207.

Kassel, Lewis. Do Jewish Undergraduates Attempt to Disguise Their Jewishness? *The Jewish Tribune,* February 26, 1926, p. 6.

Linder, Dorothy. Prejudice at a Woman's College. *Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly,* May, 1923, p. 5.

MacCracken, H. N. A University Problem. *The Menorah Journal,* October, 1923, p. 285.

Riegelman, Harold. The Jewish Student at College. (About the unwritten "numerus clausus." Maintains that there is no real barrier.) *The Jewish Tribune,* May 25, 1928, p. 13.

May Jews Go to College? *The Nation,* June 14, 1922, p. 708.

Status of Jewish Students in American Colleges. (An editorial about the "psychological tests.") *The American Hebrew,* March 16, 1928, p. 601.

Starr, Harry. The Affair at Harvard. What the Students Did. *The Menorah Journal,* October, 1922, p. 263.

See also Tenenbaum. A 1.

2b. AS TO RECREATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES

i. *Jewish Fraternities.*

Arthur, M. K. The Fraternity Question at Brown University. (University corporation agrees to per-

mit fraternity whose members are of one race but disapproves sectarian bodies; anti-Jewish discrimination charged.) *Jewish Tribune,* May 10, 1929, p. 1.

Gottheil, Richard. Our Proper Position. *Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly,* April, 1916, p. 191.

Gottheil, Richard. The Jewish Fraternity in College and University. *Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly,* January, 1914, p. 51.

Kallen, Horace M. The Status and Responsibilities of Jewish Fraternities. *Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly,* October, 1916, p. 273.

Newman, Louis I. A Brown University alumnus on the Jewish Fraternity in American Life. *Jewish Tribune,* May 17, 1929, p. 3.

Riegelman, Arthur. The Reason for Jewish Fraternities. *Zeta Beta Tau Quarterly,* May, 1923, p. 21.

Steinbach, Alexander Alan. A Rabbi Writes an Analysis of the Fraternity and the College Social Problem. *Jewish Tribune,* October 5, 1928, p. 16.

The Cry of "Wolf! Wolf!" (An Editorial on the barring of Jews from fraternities of Yale University.) *American Hebrew,* June 21, 1929, p. 180.

ii. *Jewish Clubs*

Alleged Masonic Country-Club Discriminates Against Jews. *The Jewish Tribune,* October 28, 1927, p. 1.

Clubman, A. Social Versus Cultural Incompatibility. (A discussion on club exclusiveness from several angles.) *The American Hebrew,* February 4, 1927, p. 431.

Should a Club Be Sectarian? (A discussion of a question that has many times been mooted and has several debatable angles.) Articles by Louis M. Hart, D. Emil Klein, Judge Samuel D. Levy. *The American Hebrew,* February 5, 1926, p. 392.

X., The Jew and the Club. *The Atlantic Monthly,* October, 1924, p. 450. *See extract,* p. 80.

B. SPECIAL FACTORS IN THE SITUATION

1. INTRA-GROUP DIFFERENCES:

Jewish Psychology

Browne, Lewis. Why Are Jews Like That? *The American Magazine,* January, 1929, p. 7. *See extract,* p. 95.

Fuchs, James. On So-called Jewish Traits. *The Vanguard,* November, 1928, p. 59.

Greenberg, J. A. The Jewish Mind. An Interview with Irwin Edman. *American Hebrew,* April 13, 1928, p. 862.

Lasker, Bruno. The Individualism of the American Jew. *New York Evening Post,* June 24, 1916.

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PART IV

SUGGESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION LEADERS

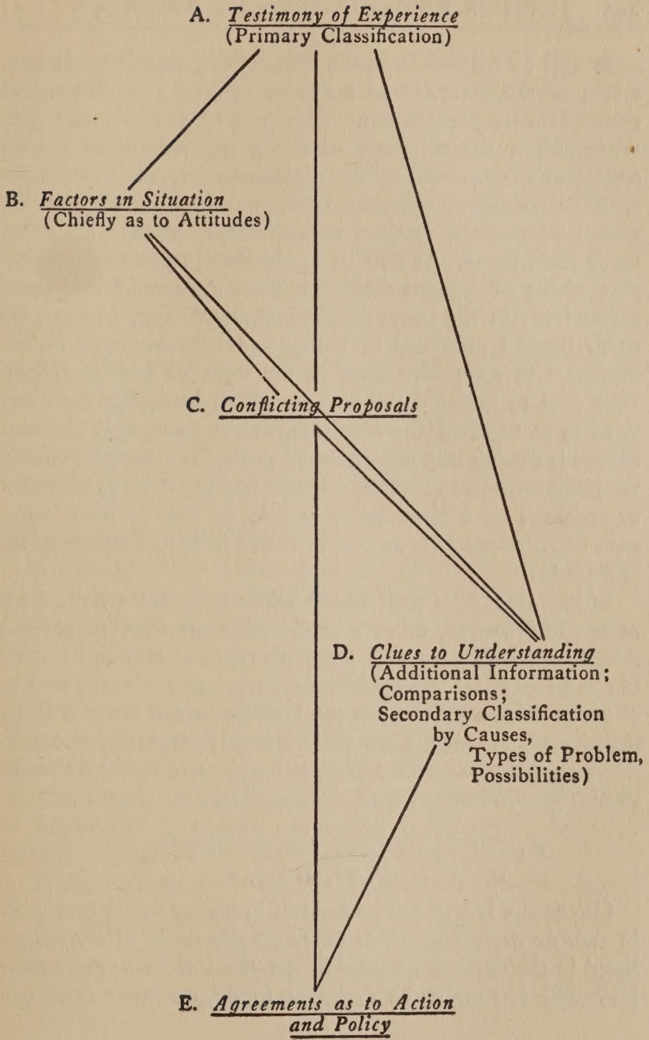
THE outline for study and discussion presented in Part I (p. 37, *et seq.*) is intended for use by various types of groups—groups differing in age, sex, experience, occupations and pre-occupations. For this reason, no scheme of procedure can be presented which it will be possible in any given case to follow exactly. Our outline, rather, intends to indicate the major trend which worthwhile educational discussions may well take in many cases, but, under each of the main headings, it supplies a variety of suggestions for sub-topics and questions from which the leader will have to choose in accordance with (a) what he knows of the composition and interests of the group, (b) what emerges in the earlier sessions as the specific field or fields of experience represented, and (c) the trend of the discussion itself, which will indicate the concerns that are especially vital to the group (whether objectively they seem important or not).

THE GENERAL PLAN

While it is inadvisable to declare in advance the trend which a course of discussions is likely to traverse, the leader may well have in his own mind a fairly definite tentative plan. If he abandons it at any point, he will do so aware of the threads that have been prematurely cut and of the phases that have not been covered.

What is attempted in the present outline is a progression of understanding by subjecting the material contributed in the earlier, expository sessions of the course to a series of diagnoses from different points of view. It must be clearly kept in mind, however, that the purpose is understanding and, maybe, remedial action—not merely description; nothing is gained by a succession of unconnected classifications. To envisage typical experiences in several systems of categories should make it easier, rather, to realize what they involve in causative factors and what points of promise they contain for helpful behavior or action. Each of the five major divisions of the outline represents a specific area of controversial issue within which certain kinds of factual statement, or reference to them, are relevant and others irrelevant. But as we proceed, the common learning from each previous area becomes part of the accepted basis for further consideration. Thus, beginning with information concerning situations in which Jews find themselves injured or handicapped because of their Jewish race, name or religion, we try to achieve a common understanding of the situations, their genesis and different proposals for dealing with them. These understandings, subsequently, are among the materials for a synthesis of Jewish statesmanship. While the group slowly proceeds from one of these steps to the next, the leader will make notes of those outcomes of group thinking at any stage which he can later utilize as starting points or materials when other stages are reached. In this transference, the road is not even; but often difficulties of diverse understanding or of partial ignorance of background facts have to be removed before the seemingly natural thread of the argument can be resumed. Thus, in the present outline, much of the experiential testimony adduced under A (p. 37, *et seq.*) will become available again as material to be ranged into a new and more advanced pattern of categories under D (p. 54, *et seq.*).

In briefest summary, the dialectic system of this outline may be charted as follows:


A. *Testimony of Experience*
(Primary Classification)
B. *Factors in Situation*
(Chiefly as to Attitudes)
C. *Conflicting Proposals*
D. *Clues to Understanding*
(Additional Information;
Comparisons;
Secondary Classification
by Causes,
Types of Problem,
Possibilities)
E. *Agreements as to Action and Policy*

It will be helpful if at the outset the group is made conscious of the diversity of attitudes toward Jewishness that enters into its composition. This may be done by asking to what extent the members of the group belong to Jewish organizations, attend Jewish religious services, observe Jewish rites and customs—dietary laws, wearing of phylacteries, recital of prayers, fasting, etc.—in their homes and when away from home. It will be found that in practically every part of the subsequent discussion these differences will show themselves: in the interpretation of experiences, in the attitudes toward questions of policy and behavior, and in the readiness to reconsider both in the light of new learnings. It is well to mention the purpose stated in asking the questions so as to avoid any suspicion, at the start, that the procedure is aiming at a pre-arranged goal. Where the group is too homogeneous to represent adequately the existing diversity of attitudes on a given point, it may be well to draw upon such illustrations of it as will be found in the selections given in Part II.

In any case, it is well worth while to spend a little time at the first session, or at a preliminary meeting, to get the group thoroughly warmed up to the specific aim and nature of the process. The members will respond the more readily if made aware that the mental effort which they will be called upon to make, while primarily self-educative, also constitutes participation in a serious cooperative study by many similar groups imbued with the same large purpose.

A. TESTIMONY OF EXPERIENCE

P. 37, *et seq.*

Obviously, it will not be possible in a single session or even in two or three sessions to cover all the fields of experience listed in the outline, whether in the given order or any other. Nor will it usually be desirable to devote more than one session exclusively to the recital and collection of experiences, because if interest is to be sustained, or even heightened, there must from the start be a sense of progression, no matter how long a series of group meetings is planned for. Therefore, either omit altogether from your agenda some of the topics and sub-topics listed or pass them over quickly in an endeavor to search out the main concerns of the group and at the same time to help its members realize the great variety of experiences within which those that are of special interest to them play their part. For example, if the group should happen to be one of college students, or one in which these form a large majority, the handicaps suffered by Jewish wage-earners may, perhaps, briefly be alluded to, but should not be the subject, usually, of prolonged discussion, curtailing the time which is needed for consideration of those educational or social handicaps which come closer home to this class of participants.

How to use the given material.

For some of the major types of experience, a nucleus of "evidence" will be found in Part II (p. 61, *et seq.*). These extracts, however, are given only as samples of personal and social experience (and experience-interpretation), not as constituting a rounded picture of the situation or an indictment of those who are responsible for such anti-Jewish discriminations as are described. (Further examples of experience are suggested in the reading list, page 197, *et seq.*). Not all the sub-topics given in the outline are covered by these examples and references; it is the accident of availability rather than relative importance that has governed the choice.

The use to be made of this factual material will depend somewhat on two things: on the one hand, the width of experience of the group; on the other, the resourcefulness and energy of the leader in securing either in advance of the meeting or at its outset contributions of experience to which members of the group can testify personally or from hearsay.[1] The most effective procedure—not, of course, practicable under all circumstances—will be one that disregards these given examples and references altogether (except perhaps for comparison and reinforcement at later stages of the discussion). Often a brief reference or partial reading of the given material will suffice to stimulate memories and prime the pump of volunteered narrative of experience. Only in peculiarly difficult circumstances (for example, where a group is habituated to passivity at meetings and can only slowly be awakened to participation in discussion) will it be necessary or wise to read aloud a large part of this printed evidence. At the same time, it may be well for the leader and perhaps for other members of the group to read this material, so as to be somewhat familiar in advance with the sort of testimony that is likely to be offered. Moreover, an accidental omission of some types of incident because nobody at the time happens to think of them as relevant, but which, nevertheless, are of concern to the group, can be avoided by brief reference on the part of the leader to all the major groups of occurrence on the list.

Avoid "color" words.

It is important to keep this part of the procedure free from premature expressions of judgment—whether of praise or blame. Such judgments often are implicit in words used rather than deliberately offered as personal opinion. For example, at this stage of the discussion the use of the word "prejudice" should be discouraged; it is no part of the recital of a situation to analyze what, in the opinion of the speaker, was the motive of persons figuring in it, while on the other hand, it is permissible and even desirable that he hint at the existence of such backgrounds and interests on the part of persons figuring in the incident as might suggest to the listeners the probable presence of specific attitudes. Thus, the narrator should not be permitted to speak of an employer who discriminates against Jewish work-seekers as "narrow-minded"; but if narrowness of outlook on the part of that personage seems to be an important factor in the incident related, to sketch briefly and in objectively phrased descriptive terms the type and background of the man is a legitimate part of the picture which it is desirable for the group to visualize.

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[1] More weight should be attached to personal than to hearsay testimony—if only because the former can be amplified through further questioning. Printed evidence—"I have read somewhere" —belongs in the same category as hearsay unless the memory of the reader cannot be questioned and he is able to name a source of recognized authority.

Agree on definitions.

Another source of difficulty to look out for in the early part of the discussion are the differences of meaning attached by different people to the words they use—often seemingly quite simple and well-understood words.

Thus it was found that a group of young people had described themselves as "orthodox" when their knowledge of orthodox Judaism was very fragmentary. To them the term meant Russian or eastern Jews in distinction from westernized Jews. On another occasion, a group of Jewish working girls were puzzled by finding themselves referred to by the leader as "women." To them that term implied not only sex but also the status of married women—and to some of them that of married women who do not go out to work.

The leader should use the first discovery of such a difference to make sure that the same meaning is attached by all to other words likely to come up for frequent use in the discussions—such as race, nationality, religion, Christian, Gentile. But the definition agreed upon should usually approximate the social experience of the group rather than the ruling of the dictionary.

Have experiences clearly stated.

The particular skill required in this first part of the program is that of keeping statements of experience not only within the bounds of the subject field and of unprejudicial descriptive narrative, but also within time limits which permit of the contribution of a sufficient variety of situations to box the compass of the problem—without, however, making each statement too brief for comprehension of the more important factors in the incident or situation related. It does not depend on the objective importance of a given example how long it will take to tell it. Sometimes, an account of an episode intimately affecting large numbers of people can be given in a few sentences, since the attitudes, interests and motives displayed in it are at once clear as day, and there are no complications in the ensuing conflict. On the other hand, at a recent conference, the chairman called for a simple example of a type of problem under discussion; and before the main interests, motives and attitudes involved in that "simple" example had been displayed with the fullness that corresponded to the interest of the delegates (it happened to be an ordinary case of exclusion of Jewish tenants from an apartment house), the conference was three two-hour sessions older!

Secure clues to full understanding.

It will make a difference to the subsequent discussion if at this early stage clear distinctions are made concerning the types of situation in which certain experiences occur: for example, whether a professional discrimination is noted in an institution under secular, private or public auspices; in activities concerning contact with poor or influential clients; with young children or college students; in the higher or the lower grades of work, etc. While the backgrounds of racial, religious or political opinion, and of social, cultural and economic status out of which non-Jewish attitudes spring will be considered more fully later, they should be noted in passing as specific experiences are described.

Bring out leads for further consideration.

While complete interpretation and critical analysis of the different accounts of experience do not belong in this part of the procedure, it is well for the leader to point in his summary to some of the interesting aspects of the total picture which seem to call for subsequent discussion—in other words, to help the group realize the significance of the evidence from different points of view, more fully to be taken up at a later stage.

For example, experiences in the matter of educational quota regulations may have been shown to vary considerably with different age groups, types of neighborhood, parts of the country, size of Jewish community, etc. Or quite early a difference may be recognized between the treatment experienced in cases where vital interests are concerned—such as competition for jobs—and those where they are not—such as exclusion from a social club. Again, in several of the incidents told, the subjective background from which experiences are told may arrest attention. One member, for example, may seriously speak of injuries suffered where another, telling of a similar happening to himself, may laughingly make light of it or show an objective sociological interest in the affair. These differences are not to be discussed at this point but, if striking enough, may be pinned down as matters worth inquiring into later as possible leads to explanations of varieties of experience. In the same way, an example or two of experiences in the Old World may give a sense of the relative absence of officially recognized handicaps experienced by the Jew in the New World.

B. SPECIAL FACTORS IN THE SITUATION

P. 46, *et seq.*

1. INTRA-GROUP DIFFERENCES (p. 46). This subjective difference in the experience of Jewish handicaps may well form the starting point of the next, the analytical stage of the procedure. Some of the major types of experience brought out previously are briefly gone over—simple mention of them by a key-word will usually suffice if there were not too many; for example, "the Silberstein episode," or "the hospital interne case," or "Mr. Y's experience on the *Aquitania.*" The group is invited to consider these examples from the point of view of their subjective evidence, that is, the experience as seen through the eyes of the actual sufferer and as it would perhaps have been seen by other individuals. If the group itself displays marked differences in the things experienced under similar circumstances, so much the better; for in that case it will be possible to arrive at explanations for these differences by bringing out some of the differences in situation and in personality. The leader will invite expressions of opinion from the group as to possible factors in the backgrounds, status, home life, educational or vocational experience, and the like, of two or more of the participants which may have a bearing on such variety of experience.

Note difference of reactions

Next, in order not to make this discussion of individuals too invidious, the whole group is invited to take imaginary part in a given situation and, on this hypothesis, to indicate their different reactions and the effects which these first reactions, if actually experienced, would be likely to have on the development of the situation. This can, perhaps, best be made clear by an illustration:

Two members of the group, A. and B., have at the previous meeting described personal experiences of discrimination in business opportunities where, they feel, antagonism to them as Jews has been the cause of others being promoted to better positions over their heads. A's recital included a detailed description of the steps taken to bring this "injustice" to the attention of the "big chief," of measures of retaliation taken against the competing employe who had contrived to secure "his" job and of a final break with the concern after a single-handed fight against practically the whole personnel in so far as it was involved in the affair. B., after suffering a similar setback, took pains not to divulge his feelings but kept working at his task and soon found occasions to help out the man who had been appointed to a superior position though he was less adequately prepared for it than he was. Two years later, having avoided anything, above all any display of feeling, which might have cost him the goodwill of any of his superiors or associates, he was promoted to a position of greater responsibility and greater promise than any his former competitor was likely ever to fill.

Further questioning had brought out that A. was five years younger than B. when the incident took place; that both at high school and at college he had associated almost exclusively with Jews; that his family took Zionism and Jewish community affairs very seriously; that he was not very strong physically and given to fits of despondency. B. had had some years of business experience; he had cultivated friendly relations with non-Jewish fellow students. Though he bore an unmistakably Jewish name, the interests of his family had been broadly humanistic rather than Jewish; he was of a more phlegmatic type, only fitfully ambitious and disinclined to sacrifice immediate comforts and good times to his career. Behind the two types of personality, more far-reaching differences in social heritage are discovered. A. and B. not only are seemingly of different racial make-up but they have different group experiences behind them: A.'s family had come to America from a small town in Poland where Jews were subject to antagonism and lived in self-protective loyalty to the group traditions; B.'s family had for two generations at least lived in Germany and the United States, and, most of that time, in considerable prosperity.

Having briefly considered the probable influence of these diversities of personal and group character upon the sequence of almost identical experiences, the group members are invited to think themselves into the same position and to indicate in a few words how they would be likely to act in that situation. If there is considerable diversity in this hypothetical response, or if the members of the group seem to represent subjective understandings of the incident very different from those of the actual initial actors of the part of Jew discriminated against, this may now be made the occasion for a more general consideration of personality as a factor in such experiences—personality being understood as not simply the sum total of separate traits but as a distinct entity which in relation to environmental circumstances represents an organic constancy.[1]

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[1] Exponents of the *Gestalt* school of psychology are strong on this point:

"By a man's 'character' at any time we may mean either his dominant sentiments and beliefs or the whole system of all his sentiments and complexes, conscious and unconscious alike, the entire organization of his dispositions. This last is perhaps better named his personality. Obviously in both senses character changes, but in the narrower sense the changes are apt to be particularly sudden and bewildering. Change a man's social environment and he will often behave like another man. . . .

"The usual antithesis between heredity and environment is no longer justified. Modern genetics has shown that if we could give the same education for many generations to a number of different human families, we should find that the characteristics resulting from education are inherited characteristics in the same sense as color of eyes and form of head. 'Every creature,' adds Professor H. S. Jennings (*Prometheus,* E. P. Dutton & Co., 1925, page 62), 'has many inheritances; which one shall be realized depending on the conditions under which it develops, but man is the creature that has the greatest number of heritages. Or, more accurately, men and other organisms do not inherit their characteristics at all. What their parents leave them are certain packets of chemicals

The word test.

To secure further concrete evidence of the existence of marked differences of personality within the group as a significant factor in the interpretation of experiences of the kind previously considered, the word test suggested on p. 283 may here be introduced.[1] Unless there is a special request—for organizational purposes, perhaps—for statistics on the attitude of members, it will not be necessary to tabulate these answers. Care must be taken also that discussion of the differences in reactions does not occupy time that can ill be spared. Unless score sheets are available for distribution, the leader will do better to select some six of the sixty words listed and, as he writes them on the blackboard, to secure a vote by show of hands on each.[2] This, together with the record of votes after each word, will not take more than two or three minutes; avoids discussions of individual words and their associations, but enables the leader, when the test is completed, in a few minutes to point out the differences that seem significant and probable reasons for them. If there is no disagreement with his interpretation, he can then at once proceed to

which under one set of conditions produce one set of characteristics, under other conditions produce other sets.' . . .

"Man's dependence upon tradition and upon his membership of a society has led some psychologists to conceive of society as a power or force outside of man. If we pay sufficient attention to the ways in which parents and elders influence the child, through language and otherwise, and to the ways in which men influence one another, there is no occasion for such vague speculations. Group or social psychology is the psychology of men in groups or societies. Change a man's group and you change him." C. K. Ogden, *The Meaning of Psychology* (Harper and Brothers, 1926), pp. 256, 297 and 157.

[1] Additional copies of the form attitude tests in Part V may be obtained from the office of the Inquiry.

[2] Better still, he might substitute words already used in the discussion that are known to invite controversy. In several experimental uses of this outline, the leaders have substituted entire lists of words and questions for those suggested in the appended tests.

the next point. If there is little time, merely draw attention to the degree of diversity in the responses as pointing to differences in attitude which would go a long way to explain differences in personal experiences with anti-Jewish discriminations or in personal experiences in contacts with non-Jews generally. It will be considerably more profitable, however, if the time can be spared for drawing rapid, and, of course, quite tentative and non-committal personality sketches either for each member of the group or for some individual members of it (to be chosen by the leader with a view to the probable emergence of marked contrasts in response) from the attitudes displayed by means of this simple examination.

An illustration of the process may not be amiss. If separate copies of the test, to be filled by each member of the group, are not available, the leader will call for a show of hands as signifying adverse feelings toward each group mentioned. One member, stationed at the blackboard, will rapidly write down the number of hands shown opposite the number of each word read out by the leader. The leader will pass on rapidly so as not to give time for reflection but to get a record of first reactions. At the conclusion it will be seen on which words there was greatest disagreement—namely, those on which about one-half of the members have voted adversely. The leader will, after a rapid survey of the blackboard, give his opinion as to the probable difference between those associations upon which a majority of the group were agreed and those upon which they most differed, without, however, trying to draw more generalization out of this testimony than its nature and occasion warrant. Next, the leader picks out two individuals, or if there is no danger of getting too much involved, three or four, who from his knowledge of them are likely to react very differently to the test. These are asked to repeat their first responses, and these are now listed on the blackboard in parallel columns next to the column of word numbers in place of the previous record for the group as a whole. Thus it may happen that F. registers adverse feelings on words No. 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 19, 20, 21, 28, 34, 42, 45, 56. He confesses that he cannot vote on some of the items (notably 14, 17, 35, 38, 41, 44, 46, 49, 59 and 60) because they convey no meaning to him in connection with the present major topic. G. admits adverse feelings toward the word images No. 4, 5, 9, 12, 16, 24, 25, 26, 29, 39, 40, 42, 47, 48, 52, 54, 57. He likewise states that the intention of some of the words and their connotation is "beyond him." An examination of the two records shows that they contain several items in common—notably those that recall to fairly well-informed Jews memories of persecution. (Neither of them, however, has spotted York as such a reference.) F.'s list of "abominations" would seem to indicate a mind of strong defensive inclinations but somewhat limited to the narrower or more recent experiences of the race without prompt reaction to historical and literary references. G. has fewer aversions, and these are more widely distributed over words calling up social injustice, repression and dogmatism, without limitation of his sympathies to specifically Jewish experiences in these respects. Recalling now their reaction to the case previously discussed, the leader points out that F. in that hypothetical situation had honestly confessed himself to have been more likely to behave like A. with whom he shared sensitiveness to and hot resentment of insult than like B. who was wise enough or happy enough in disposition to ignore the discrimination and thus to take advantage of later opportunities. G. had already put himself on record as probably not even having recognized any connection of that experience with antipathy to himself as a Jew if such had been the case.

A summary

Returning to a more general comparison of traits and their influence on the course of events itself, the leader now summarises some of the factors, present in the subjective response to a situation, that have been brought out as having an important part both in the degree of suffering occasioned by the incident and in the subsequent developments. An attempt may here be made, if time suffices, to group some of these traits and the occasions upon which they are likely to become operative into distinct configurations making up the total picture of a personality together with the surrounding circumstances without which it would not exist as such.

2. INTER-GROUP DIFFERENCES (p. 47). The somewhat introspective study of the first attitude test and its development through further analysis and discussion will prove a wholesome preliminary to the consideration of the characteristics of the non-Jews who function in the situations where difficulty has been experienced. Too often self-analysis is entirely lacking in the discussion of such happenings, and the facts stated are taken as though illustrating the diversity of non-Jewish attitudes against a background of solid, undifferentiated Jewish attitude. Moreover, it is necessary to have glimpsed the subjective character of much of the evidence to be able to deal with it in a spirit of scientific objectivity—or at least as nearly neutral a concern as can be achieved.

The "anthology of mutual indictments."

At this point, as a convenient link between self-examination and the examination of outside attitudes relevant to the situation, it may be well to introduce the anthology of mutual indictments of Attitude Test No. 2 (page 285). Concerning the value of attitude tests, such as those suggested in Part V, p. 281, *et seq.*, opinions are divided. There is a danger that in the hands of unskilled leaders the statements submitted for judgment, more especially, may insinuate criticisms which otherwise would not arise, or sharpen an as yet undeveloped sense of injury. On the other hand, experience has shown that such exercises in self-examination, when conducted according to the prescribed rules, are excellent discussion-openers. They may even lessen a sense of social distance as between Jews and non-Jews by making it quite evident, early in the procedure, that the views among the group members themselves are divided and, on some points, anything but firm. Such an awareness to the diversity of opinions and their flexibility when presented for analysis is a wholesome influence on the attitude in which the study proceeds.

The administration of this second test, however, has to be especially safeguarded from the danger of false conclusions and misleading deductions. It has to be made clear that the two tables consist of random collections of statements overheard by some one or other, statements which either may or may not represent a widespread opinion. The logical order, in the procedure so far sketched, is to take first the list of What Jews Say of Christians, not only because it naturally follows on the preceding part of the discussion but also because it predisposes the group, having been given an opportunity to express some of their own criticisms of others, to listen to criticisms of their own people without resentment or undue displeasure over what will to them seem obvious misunderstandings.[1] The checking of the frequency with which a stated opinion has been heard will be another safeguard against the stimulation of defense reactions; for the more preposterous criticisms will thus quickly be seen not to be serious in the width of their diffusion. Furthermore, such an exercise in an objective dealing with criticism may be made the occasion to discuss frankly with the group the nature and causes of Jewish sensitiveness to criticism—one

[1] Where members of a group have shown themselves oversensitive to criticism and inclined to take up a defensive attitude at the slightest sign of it, it may be better to omit or postpone the second part of this test, 2b., page 289: "What Christians Say of Jews." For this reason, the two parts of the "Mutual Criticism" test are printed on separate sheets in the sets for group use.

of the symptoms of what has been called the "oppression psychosis."[1] In as far as any Jewish group can overcome a tendency in that direction, in so far will it be better armed to deal effectively, that is by intellectual methods rather than emotional responses, with the difficult problems to be raised in the further course of the proceedings.

Examine types of contact.

We can now, with less danger of being betrayed into prejudiced judgments by our own feelings toward the situations under examination and those who play part in them, dissect these Jewish-Christian contacts, as regards the variety of historical relationships, race characteristics and present circumstances which they illustrate—each item a factor in the determination of Jewish relations in America with different nationality groups in the population.

One purpose of the questions suggested in this section is to secure awareness to the diversity of types of mind which the Jew confronts and thus to dispose of the erroneous oversimplification of much of current literature on Jewish-Gentile relations which fails to take account of the many and significant differences in the nature of these contacts when for the generic term "Gentile" are substituted some such terms as "old-stock Americans," Americans of South, North, West and East European descent; groups occupying a dominant position in American life, and groups still lacking in assured status and recognition; groups that have had long contacts with Jews in the "Old World" and groups that have had none.

One way of getting at realistic answers to some of the questions asked is to take one or more of the situation examples previously considered (preferably one in which members of the group have a personal stake) and to hazard the

[1] The reference given on page 159 should be helpful.

hypothetical substitution of other non-Jewish American types for those actually figuring in the event. The exercise of tracing the probable course of actions and reactions with their sequences in new situations and new problems, quite apart from its immediate educational value, also is useful in introducing the members of the group to an imaginatively reconstructive type of situation-study in which, as in psychologically realistic fiction, not some preconceived pattern of happening but the character of the personages envisaged determines the course of the events.

Another interesting way of bringing out the significance of such hypothetical substitutions for the understanding of the situation is to give some intelligent member of the group separately, in advance of the meeting, the bare outlines of a situation of conflict between Jews (or a Jew) on the one side as against a typical community group of native Americans of "Nordic" ancestry; then to give the same incident to another member—substituting, however, for the "Nordic" group a recently immigrant Ukrainian one; and in the third case, telling the same story against the background of an ethnically mixed progressive small community without outstanding predominance of any national group—and to ask each to give at the next meeting his ideas as to the probable outcomes.

Causes of variety of attitudes.

In the further analysis of these differences it is important at least to point to, if there should not be time to take up for a more thorough consideration, the major causes for them in racial traits, national or group history and diversity of present circumstances. Thus it may be worth while to find whether, in the experience of the members, persons of a given nationality group can be counted upon to behave in given patterns, or what circumstances may explain varieties of experience with them in similar situations.

Does it matter, for example, whether in a case involving social contacts, a German group is Protestant or Catholic, comes from the North or the South of Germany, has been long in this country or has undergone war-time experiences in Europe, is well-to-do or poor, a cross-section of interests and occupations or limited to one industry and one way of living; whether these Germans themselves are respected or despised by others in the community, whether they are many or few (and, therefore, either have or do not have group organizations of their own for many diverse ends)?

Lastly, what is the influence of a cordial or antagonistic attitude toward Jews on the part of some group in the community upon their relations with other groups and with the community as a whole? If possible, secure examples from the experience of members of the group which illustrate such influences, whether for better or for worse. In the same way, how does marked antagonism between Jews and a specific group in the community (whether due to recent unfavorable contact experiences or to group traditions) influence their own attitude to, and therefore their relation with, the rest of their fellow-citizens or neighbors? Again secure at this point recognition for subjective psychological factors in the situation which, because of their imponderable nature, often are overlooked or underestimated in their influence upon the current of events.

In short, the main purpose of this part of the procedure is to gain understanding for the problem as one involving many factors which constitute problem situations. Such a process will discourage any tendency to oversimplify the problems of Jewish-Gentile relations; it will keep the discussion on the level of realistic facing of facts; and it will permit a choice of possible approaches to the more central aspects of the problem at later stages of the course.

C. CONFLICTING POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

P. 50, *et seq.*

The floodgate of volunteered proposals for dealing with some of the problems and difficulties found to exist may now be opened a little. Or, better, some one problem may be selected for the next stage of the discussion, around which controversy has been particularly sharp and concerning which a number of specific proposals have already incidentally been made. At various points in the procedure thus far suggestions for action, or modes of behavior, will probably have been more or less warmly advocated and been set aside by the leader for later discussion. If the analysis of attitudes recommended in the previous section has been made with some thoroughness, there will probably be no need to stimulate thought on policies and programs. If, however, this has not been the case, it may be well to go back to the first section of our outline and, by systematically going over the different types of situation in which Jews experience difficulties, call for suggestions of appropriate remedies.

Opinion tests.

Another way of doing this expeditiously, so as to secure as quickly as possible recognition of such division of opinion as there may be in the group on recommendations made, would be to use either or both of the opinion tests Nos. 3 and 4 (pp. 292 and 298). These tests have been arranged in such a way as to secure expressions of feeling on (a) desirable modes of personal behavior and (b) desirable social policies and programs. This division has the advantage that the leader can administer either one or the other of these tests if discussion should show that the thinking of the group is tending to become onesidedly individualistic—that is, concerned with individual behavior rather than with possible social measures—or onesidedly focused upon questions of social engineering with insufficient regard for the part played by the actions and behavior of individuals in their effect upon the problem-containing situations.

As in the previous cases, these tests should be administered rapidly; and instead of endeavoring to draw generalizations as regards the opinion of the group as such from the statistics of the members' response, the leader will find it more profitable if he merely points to the existence of divergencies where they are marked and then singles out some particularly significant or seemingly especially "hot" conflict of opinion for further discussion. Only in rare cases will it be possible to use in the discussion all of the topics suggested in these tests and in the text of the outline for this section. In his choice of topics for fuller consideration, the leader should be entirely guided by the relative warmth of interest displayed in the group. Where more convenient, the questions raised in the two tests may, therefore, be regarded simply as additional suggestions for possible illustrative sub-topics under the heads of the outline for this section (more especially C. 4, *Present Situation*—p. 53) where a few other, similar suggestions are stated in the form of questions.

1. RELIGION (p. 50). If Jews believe that they should always struggle for self-preservation, racial and religious issues are likely in their minds to present a single set of problems. We cannot well discuss intermarriage, for example, until we have cleared our minds on the religious duties as well as the duties toward the Jewish people which such a step may be held to violate. Hence, the desire to conform to the tenets of the religious faith and the desire to minimize the social separateness of the Jews from their non-Jewish neighbors may come into conflict. To what extent, we here ask ourselves, is that conflict inevitable? Within what limits do these venerable sanctions operate today? Have there been

precedents in Jewish history for sacrificing less fundamental elements of the code so that the integrity of an essentially Jewish way of life might be preserved? (That question the leader may perhaps have to be prepared to answer from his reading of Jewish history.) What elements of the Jewish religious tradition might be held not only to allow but possibly even to ordain a measure of adaptation to changing circumstances in Jewish behavior toward, and relations with, non-Jewish peoples?

2. RACIAL CHARACTER (p. 50). The second major head under "Conflicting Policies and Programs" raises large issues. Obviously, questions as to the desirability of eliminating Jewish racial distinctiveness—which, practically, would mean a deliberate move toward complete amalgamation and submersion of the Jew as a separate racial group—cannot effectively be answered without recourse to scientific information or reference to religious doctrine. At this point, however, we are more concerned with becoming aware of the existence of divergent attitudes toward such a proposal than with their scientific or religious justifications. We have entered the third act of our discussional drama and thus, as every playgoer knows, are confronted with the crisis of conflict. Discussion has gradually warmed up to a clash of philosophies, personalities and parties. That is, on the issues raised members of the group will be likely to express themselves in such a way as—consciously or unconsciously—to express the whole of their experience, knowledge, ambitions and desires that can in any way be related to the subject. Where previously we were concerned with attitudes which may spring separately from sources that can be traced, we here have to do with the confluence of all these streams and currents of motivation as a single force. There will be more certainty, because of the previous exercises, on the larger issues involved in Jewish survival—and its cost.

How to frame questions.

a. To keep the discussion fluid, the leader will—if necessary by reinterpretation of what is being said, or even by injecting questions that point to the complexity of desire inherent in inclusive statements of conviction—endeavor to shift the emphasis from a mere *what?* to a *how?* of proposed policy.

For example, if intermarriage is denounced, are some of the objections to it (such as danger to the Jewish upbringing of children) such that they might effectively be met?

In the same way, if the abolition of Jewish day-schools is advocated, the discussion leader should endeavor to substitute for a mere pro and con debate a realistic consideration of all that is involved in the proposal: Does the school claim too much of the child's time? Does it impede educational progress? How? Does it promote good learning habits? Is it too costly for the results achieved? Why? Does it make for estrangement of its pupils from other children? In what ways? Does it effectively perform what it is primarily for? In other words, the question, as first put, is seen to contain a large element of doubt as to facts in the situation which can be removed by appeals to the experience of group members. What remains resolves itself into questions of expediency and of conviction. (Agreement in this case, as in practically every other, must necessarily remain incomplete: "Assuming," the members may agree, "that the facts are as stated, assuming further, that the effects of closing the school would be such and such, and assuming lastly, that we are in agreement as to the value of the main objective of these schools, we still have to convince ourselves that this objective cannot be met by some other means more effectively and with less danger of undesirable by-products in attitudes and misunderstandings, before we can jointly agree to recommend the survival and encouragement of these schools.")

Another function of the leader here is to earmark for later study signs of ignorance of or uncertainty concerning facts which affect the conflicting policies urged.

b. (P. 51.) The word *acculturation* may not be familiar. It is often used now in place of the word assimilation because it more definitely signifies that approximation between two or more groups which takes place not through intermarriage but through the contact and mutual influences of their language, habits, customs and points of view generally. In the present case, since the discussion is held by a Jewish group, it is best limited to the potential or actual Jewish part in such a process. In other words, while acculturation between Jews and non-Jewish groups probably does involve change on the part of both, the purpose of the present discussion is not to find desirable programs and policies for non-Jews but to consider the probable outcome of various measures urged as means by which Jews as such can help to eliminate their own handicaps in American life, even though admittedly their power of self-help in that respect is often smaller than the power possessed by "the other side" that might be harnessed to such a purpose.

What we mean by "race."

Instead of following the more conventional order of procedure which considers "race" primarily as a biological subject as distinct from "culture" which is treated as a sociological phenomenon—departing also from the precedent of considering every Jewish problem as, in the first instance, a religious one—we propose the experiment in the present outline of discussing race as what it really is, namely, a convenient man-made category defined in part by biological and in part by cultural distinctions. Hence, we still discuss "race character" and "race amalgamation" and not something entirely different when we proceed from biological questions of assimilation to cultural ones.[1] This, with all the recent research in the field of ethnography, has become the only remaining practicable use of the term "race." One useful element in this part of the discussion is, by interjected questions and by apt quotation, to break through the conventional antithesis between racial and other social group concepts and to make the student aware, for example, of the many obvious ways in which Jews at the present time actually are, without intermarriage, modifying their physical and mental make-up. Which of these modifications, as well as those through intermarriage, make for social peace, which for social disharmony between Jews and non-Jews, or within the Jewish group? Which are desirable from the point of view of Jewish group survival, which undesirable? Which are costly in the sacrifice of Jewish heritage, which inexpensive contributions toward the creation of a more tolerant and appreciative environment for the American Jew? These, briefly rephrased, are the major questions that ought to come out, even though they cannot be fully considered now.

3. HISTORY AND TRADITION (p. 51). It will probably not be possible within the scope of the present course of discussions to introduce a large body of evidence concerning Jewish history and its bearing upon the problem in hand. But the occasion of the present section might be used for striking illustrations of the need for knowing that history. A Jewish teacher, referring to this section in our outline, writes:

> Intelligent action cannot be expected except on the basis of a familiarity with the historical aspects of the problem. The leader should endeavor to stimulate an interest in the

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[1] Anthropologists are not agreed as to whether this process affects the character of the germ plasm. But Boas and others have produced unquestioned evidence of a physical change in Jews as a result of environmental factors.

Jewish past—the history of the Jewish people, its literature and its contributions to civilization. Only on such a basis, it seems to me, would it profit a Jewish group to conduct such a self-examination as is implied in this project.

Here again we can make an experimental departure from conventional procedures. Usually when speaking of the history of a group or of the historical relation between two or more groups, we make the assumption that we are dealing with unchangeable, factual evidence. We know better now; for the essential finding of recent historical research is to the effect that there never has been and, perhaps, never can be an "objective" record of events. A people is making its history as it goes along, not only by what it does but also by what it says about itself and its past. Thus the Jews of today largely can and do influence what the world shall think about their origins, their golden age and their Diaspora. Not the Jews alone, of course, for a large part of Jewish history is written and handed down by non-Jews. And especially that part of the tradition about the Jews which is most detrimental to their reputation among non-Jews is both in origin and nature propaganda pure and simple.

On this basis of understanding for the meaning of history, then, we may endeavor at this stage to secure expressions of conflicting opinion on desirable ways of making over Jewish history and the traditions that surround it. This problem, obviously, has its two parts: influences on Jewish history as taught to and among Jews; and influences on Jewish history as taught to and among non-Jews.[1] The questions asked in the outline may easily be enlarged and added to from the literary references given on p. 197, *et seq.* The leader will see to it, once more, that the discussion moves, so far as possible, on the plane of realistic experience rather than that of too ethereal theory. Questions concerning concrete events within recent memory, such as those mentioned in the outline, will help.

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[1] One Jewish teacher suggests that groups with a decidedly literary bent might find it interesting to compare their experiences of the effect which such books as *You Gentiles* and *I the Jew* by Samuels or *The Jew and Civilization* by Sterling produce upon both Jewish and non-Jewish readers. This experiment might be amplified, of course, to include some of the much-read books by Ludwig Lewisohn, . . . and other Jewish novelists who write of Jewish life.

4. PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES (p. 53). Even more than in relation to the two previous topics, we are here assuming in imagination an experimental attitude toward concrete situations. What shall we do about them? And what are likely to be some of the results of the proposed policies, actions and modes of behavior? Only by comparing notes on the way in which different members of the group would, if they could, want to exert their influence on a given problem can they come to realize the nature of their differences, both as to the understanding of the facts and as to the objectives of their desires.

So far as possible, therefore, questions that have been raised in previous discussion and that represent the thinking of members should be thrown open rather than those suggested in the outline. Those which show no promise of developing a clash of conflicting points of view may quickly be passed over unless the leader is able, by an interjected question of his own, to open up a latent or hidden conflict of opinion in regard to a proposed course of action.

For example, there may be seeming unanimity in support of the contention that "Jews should be less clannish." However, those who hold that opinion may in their imagination dwell in very different types of situation. A. is thinking of a habit he has observed among students at a local college to flock together on the least provocation, to make every Jewish newcomer willy-nilly a member of their set, to absent themselves as a group from occasions where the etiquette of college loyalty would seem to demand a full attendance of all students, and so on—thus bringing about an attitude of social distance toward them of non-Jewish students by an unnecessary and harmful self-isolation. B., on the other hand, is thinking of the formation of Jewish fraternities, assuming that apart from the social group life circumscribed by fraternity activities, Jews share in every aspect of student life without holding themselves apart. The condemnation of A. is for a piece of clumsy engineering of Jewish campus relations; that of B. for a specific organization. It is doubtful, unless these various facets are brought out, whether A. would agree with B. that Jewish fraternities are undesirable; or whether B. would agree with A. that the unorganized, spontaneous flocking together of Jewish students is regrettable and should be discouraged. And it is doubtful whether either of them has campus situations in mind at all when the general term clannishness, with its somewhat adverse connotation, is used as meaning, indiscriminately, every conceivable form of intra-group sociability.

Similarly, the question of the Jewish Sabbath, necessarily stated rather briefly in the outline itself, should be analyzed until the members have rid themselves of mere slogans in regard to the matter in the large and examined it in its more important concrete aspects. To some the question may have presented itself thus far as one merely of historical tradition; others may have toward it a deeply religious attitude—to them the whole edifice of the Jewish religion may seem to totter if one single stone of it is removed; others again, while viewing the matter as one of expediency, may feel that the existing attitudes of Jews the world over toward the Sabbath have a greater claim upon consideration than that of temporary expediency. One way of bringing all the values that are affected into the open is to list them on the blackboard and then to rate them as discussion reveals greater or lesser feeling with regard to these values. In this it is more important to catch the relative intensity of concern than merely to register agreements. Of course, no generally accepted standard of measuring the weight of different arguments advanced is available. The sense of a minority that the Jewish Sabbath seriously handicaps the economic success of the Jewish business man has as much right to recognition as the feeling of another that a change in the Jewish calendar would be sacrilege. All we can usually do at this stage is to separate the more important and vital interests in the question from the more ephemeral ones; to separate further those aspects of the matter upon which Jews can act as individuals in conformity with their conscience from those upon which they must necessarily act in concert; and, again, to separate those aspects upon which agreement is possible from those that involve the whole attitude toward life.[1]

A summary

In summarising discussion under Part C. of the outline, the leader will do well to differentiate between major and lesser disagreements laid bare, emphasizing once more that for the purposes of the present course problems upon which Jews as such can act will be given more time than others as topics for subsequent discussion. He will also invite individual preparation for the next step, the contribution of additional facts in further illumination of those matters around which the conflict of opinion is most pronounced (either within the group itself or as between the group and outside Jewish opinion). He may, if it is deemed desirable, make definite assignments of reading, having himself previously read the outline and the references for the next part of the procedure.

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[1] For a more discerning search for criteria of value, stimulating suggestions will be found in the chapter on "Criteria of the Jewish Curriculum" in Book Two of Dr. Emanuel Gamoran's *Changing Conceptions in Jewish Education.*

D. FURTHER CLUES TO UNDERSTANDING

P. 54, *et seq.*

1. ADDITIONAL INFORMATION (p. 54).

a. While only a few questions are asked in the outline relative to problems of group attitudes and behaviors within the Jewish community, this short section is of the greatest importance in securing a realistic understanding for the major topic of the study. In realizing that within the Jewish community there are frictions and antagonisms which, in many cases, can be traced to influences similar in character to those that affect the relations between Jews and other Americans, the members will become wholesomely skeptical toward over-simple "explanations" of anti-Semitism and simple "solutions" for it.

For example, if earlier in the discussion much was made of the exclusion of Jews from a social organization—say, a golf club—and the explanation given was the "prejudice" of the directors or committee, the question may here be raised whether clubs in which Jews determine policy will admit any one, otherwise eligible, without question of race and religion. Such questions as these will be likely to arise: Is there an essential difference between excluding Jews and excluding, say, Negroes? Are Jewish clubs known to have excluded Jews because they came from Galicia, or because they live in a part of the city not frequented by "the best people," because they are orthodox and considered old-fashioned, or because they are unaffiliated and considered "bad Jews"? It will become apparent that national, social, economic and religious motives may enter into these discriminations—when practiced by Jews against other Jews. The question then will arise whether, when a club discriminates against all Jews, similar diversities of motive may be at play —whether, for example, in one case a rule barring Jews may be motivated by social exclusiveness, in another by religious animosity, in a third by a too narrow patriotism, in a fourth by nothing more than a vague tradition, and in a fifth by a mixture of all these four and others to boot. In other words, the greater familiarity with the motives that actuate discriminations in Jewish circles, when brought to awareness, will make it easier to perceive the possible variety of motives that may operate in a non-Jewish discrimination; and so hasty first judgments as to "obvious" single explanations will now readily be revised.

Moreover, since the problems of group-relations within the Jewish community present themselves as challenges to a statesmanlike policy of action, they will turn attention to the practical tasks that are involved.

The questions may be raised, for example: What originally gave rise to the outspoken antagonism between German and Russian Jews in our American cities? What techniques have been developed for dealing with these cleavages within American Jewry? On what principles were they based? To what extent were they successful? What tasks are left for those who would integrate the Jewish groups of America into a real community? And why are these tasks left over? Lastly, what can we learn from half a century's effort at conciliation within the community life of American Jewry that would be applicable to the unsolved problems of Jewish relations with non-Jews?

b. Another helpful parallel study is offered by an examination of relations and attitudes between Jews and non-Jews where the former are either in a majority or in a dominant position. This comparison is rendered a little more difficult by the fact that few members of the group are likely to have first-hand knowledge of such situations. Hence the introduction of either literature or of persons who do have this information is called for.

The introduction of non-Jews.

It is open to question whether up to this point the introduction of non-Jewish persons into the group would have been advantageous or not. While experiments are always welcome, experience with similar ventures [1] points to the probability that homogeneity on racial lines where racial questions are brought up and on denominational lines where religious group differences are under discussion is helpful to frankness in the early stages of the procedure.

However, already having transposed themselves in imagination to the side of their "adversaries" and having come to grasp with their own intra-group divisions on questions of policy (and to some extent the causes of these in diversities of background and experience), the members of the discussion group will be ready now to invite into their midst others who can help them see the problems from other points of view, or who can contribute relevant information not easily accessible to the members themselves. Conflicts of opinion within the group having been reduced to those most real and most crucial, the need for further help to understanding of all that is involved becomes more urgent and recognized. Of course, in many cases literary sources may, theoretically at any rate, be held to suffice as means to increase factual knowledge. But psychologically speaking, and therefore realistically, information and points of view presented orally by a person or persons in a position to know are more readily absorbed into the thinking. The printed word does not, as all our educational experience tells us, fare well in competition with the spoken word and the visible evidence of personality from which it emanates.

[1] See, for example, *The Fairfield Experiment.* The Inquiry, 1927, pamphlet, page 42.

The introduction of outside experts.

Since the object of the procedure is to examine the relations between Jews and non-Jews with the aim of framing the outlines of a Jewish attitude and program in regard to these relations, it does not seem wise to make the introduction of additional information the occasion for broadening the membership of the group itself, to include representative non-Jews and to substitute mutuality of interest for the single group interest. The kind of outside carrier of information that will be most useful will be, rather, some single individual who, whether Jew or non-Jew, can speak with authority on a given, disputed or disputable point or range of fact and interpretation. A historian or an anthropologist who is well informed as to typical forms of adjustment between ethnic majority and minority groups would be a useful consultant at this stage; or some one who, though less learned, has an intimate knowledge of ethnic group relations in the particular community over a number of years (such as one of the older settlement workers, for example); or one who has travelled widely and well observed how Jews are getting on with their non-Jewish neighbors elsewhere; or if interest in specific questions of scientific fact has been aroused by previous discussions, an exponent of the scientific lore concerned (as, for example, an anthropologist on the biological effects of intermarriage, a psychologist on oppression psychosis, a bible scholar on the facts of ancient Jewish-Gentile history as reconstructed from the bible records, a historian on the development of anti-Semitism in the middle ages, a sociologist on the effects of stability and of migration on group contacts; a statistician on material facts concerning the present status of American Jews; or again an eye-witness of some contemporary event which, because of too meager information, has been interpreted in different ways by different writers or speakers). One or several such persons—"authorities" by virtue of their possession of information desired rather than necessarily because of outstanding erudition—may be introduced at the same meeting; but it is wise not to overawe the assembly by the presence of too impressive a phalanx of critical listeners. In every case, moreover, it is necessary to instruct in advance the person introduced as to the nature of the proceedings—more especially, that he is not invited to give an address or to speak at length, but to answer questions that may be raised. (As a matter of ordinary courtesy, the leader will, of course, see to it that suitable questions are raised from the floor which he can turn over to the visitor or, failing this, will give the group his reasons for inviting the specialist and himself name the question upon which he believes the group will like to hear authoritative testimony.[1]

An especially effective way of using to advantage the services of an informational specialist is to have the group itself, at the conclusion of the preceding meeting, prepare a list of questions—usually major questions of fact and scientific theory arising from the main points of controversy between the members—which can be submitted to him in advance of his appearance, with the understanding, of course, that supplementary questions will be in order.[2]

While such expert testimony as has here been suggested may be offered as a kind of aside—that is, interrupting the continuity of the discussional process long enough to clarify a given point or range of subject matter—it is assumed in the outline that usually it will be possible to connect this contribution by an outsider or outsiders more organically with the procedure of the course. Three types of comparison are suggested in the first part of Section D. as opportunities to bring further relevant data to bear upon and to illumine the picture of the problem so far visualized. Each comparison invites the study of a specific range of facts. Authoritative information under a. and b. (pp. 54 and 55) is most likely to come from some well-informed, open-minded Jew of one or other of the fields of observation named. Under c. (p. 55) first-hand information on non-Jewish attitudes toward other minority groups will usually best come from a non-Jew.

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[1] A simple device to keep these expert consultants from making lengthy speeches is to ask them to sit when addressing the group. The resulting informality will encourage the members to interrupt with questions and will enable the discussion leader, without discourtesy, to change the topic if the reply to a question should threaten to develop into a set speech.

[2] Again refer to *The Fairfield Experiment*, p. 28 *et seq.*, for a description of this method.

For example, if the head of an institution or organization that is discriminating against Jews is in other relationships known to be an upright and even a liberal or progressive person, it may be worth while to invite him at this point, not so much to be cross-examined on his supposed anti-Jewish stand, but rather to secure from him information or opinion as to how other minority groups of various kinds have fared or would be likely to fare at the hands of his organization. The purpose of this kind of questioning is to get at the whole of the outlook, experience or policy as regards inter-group relations in which some particular action taken, or ruling adopted, against Jews may be only a minor item so far as that organization and its leading spirits are concerned.

2. RE-EXAMINATION OF SITUATIONS (p. 55). We are now ready to reconsider our first interpretations of the various situations and types of situations examined in earlier sessions to see whether our various methods of analysis and our additional information make us see them in a new light.[1] At this

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[1] Not only at this stage but even earlier, divergences of opinion within the group, especially when presented with some acerbity, may develop a sense of irritation between the members. This irritation, if previously the group had never experienced a serious dissension, may even vent itself in criticism of the procedure and

stage what seemed relatively simple at first may, for some, seem to have become confused by a multitude of new considerations. As a picture of many gradations of responsibility takes the place of the simple outline of shining virtue and black guilt, feelings toward situations, and those involved in them, that were clear and strong, may become uncomfortably uncertain. Uncertainty is, of course, preferable to misunderstanding. But if the discussion were to stop at this point, the outcome might be an unfortunate one. We might have a more realistic understanding and less desire to rush in with "half-baked" solutions; but we cannot afford to lose altogether the initial urge to do something about the matter in hand. We must try to retain the ethical impulse without which a study such as this is apt to become purely academic and of small educational value at that. The immediate task for the leader, therefore, is to re-simplify the problem as a whole—but now more in accordance with reason and reliable information—and to focus attention upon those aspects that invite questions concerning possible lines of action. For, from the outset, the purpose of this discussion was not merely to gain added insight for the members of the group but to distill their informed interest and their desires for social justice, peace and progress into plans and policies which they themselves would later—either as individuals or as a group or through other connections—help to carry into action.

Exercises in classification.

For the purposes of this simplification and this re-direction of the inquiry, three exercises in classification are suggested. Where time permits to do so, they should all three be taken up, in the order named in the outline. If the necessary time

of the leader. It is well for the leader to be prepared for this eventuality and, perhaps, on an appropriate occasion, to point out this common group tendency before it actually appears.

is not available, it may be wise for the leader briefly to summarize the main points brought out by previous discussion along the lines of the classifications suggested under a. and b. (pp. 56 and 57) and to proceed to a group discussion of classification c. (p. 57). Another possible way of proceeding would be to assign previously the three kinds of classification to individual members or small "committees" to report upon. Especially where the interval between sessions is more than a week, such assignments are valuable in keeping interest alive and in fostering an attitude of responsible participation.

a. *Causatively Considered.* Previously different experiences have been looked at from the point of view of the area of *experience* into which primarily they seemed to fall, i.e., as to whether they were concerned with politics, with educational opportunities, with business life, and so on. Now they are grouped in type categories chosen to indicate the major *causes.* It is not necessary, of course, to attempt an exhaustive ranging of each situation that has come up in the discussions, into its category. It will suffice if enough instances are recalled to make these categories seem real. That is, instead of spending much time on borderline cases which, for example, may be seen either as primarily involving a difference in economic level or as primarily involving a difference in temperament, it will be better to choose instances concerning which, while they may have several facets, there is no doubt as to the nature of the main aspect. These illustrations, moreover, have to be typical or they will fail to carry conviction as to the justification for the particular category defined.

For example, under I (p. 56), the "Christ-killing" indictment evidently is such a "hangover" which would be likely to vanish from American life were it not fed by newcomers from the Old World.

Under II (p. 56), Jewish pacifism might come under consideration—or by a curious historical contradiction also the alleged cruelty of the Jewish sense of justice as compared with Christian passive resistance!

The association, in the minds of many, of Jewish immigration with the spread of Bolshevist propaganda might be a case in point under III (p. 56).

The vocational specializations of Jews in the clothing industry and in the entertainment trades, or their interests as mainly urban residents and consumers rather than producers of farm products would be likely to come up under IV (p. 56.)

Examples fitting into category V (p. 56) will probably be volunteered in considerable number since many kinds of competition and inroads upon established conventions by immigrant newcomers are to the point.

The distrust of foreign languages when spoken by fellow-citizens, the dislike for foreignness in appearance and diet will provide the main points of view from which to consider category VI (p. 56).

VII (p. 56) may not come up at all, unless the group has recognized the existence of real differences in physical character (such as some authorities find, for example, in different ages of physiological maturing for Jewish and Gentile children) and in racial temperament or intelligence.

A broad classification of experiences in accordance with major causative factors has the advantage that it leads the mind to consider dynamically situations which previously may have been present in too static an aspect. From preoccupation with the origin and growth of a situation it is a natural step to proceed to the questions, What exactly does it involve as a problem, and How may this best be solved? The situation, in other words, is seen in flux, as a movement with a past and a trend into the future that can be arrested at one point or other if we but know the right method.

b. *Problematically Considered.* This new interest in the changing character of the situation also gives us a new approach to the study of its character and of the precise nature of its problem or problems *for us.* We now see these no longer as defined by circumstance but as defined by type—such as lack of contacts, mischief-creating forms of contact, conflicts of interest and of feeling (which do not necessarily coincide), conflicts in which ethnic difference is merely a side issue, and those that go to the very heart of deep convictions as regards life here and hereafter. A few hypothetical illustrations will make clear the intended meaning of these categories.

Under I (p. 57) the "clannishness" of Jews (whether real or alleged) is likely to be mentioned as in itself constituting a problem, quite apart from its consequences in the development of social rifts in different areas of relationship. The problem suggested is how to overcome this social distance.

The square peg of some Jewish worker in the round hole of a position that requires the physical and mental equipment of a Viking, shall we say, may present a personal problem but, at the same time, also a social one; for individual unfitness often is generalized and symbolized into racial unfitness. Hence the problem of individual re-adjustment, visualized under II (p. 57), is also a problem of group relations.

Jewish and Christian shopkeepers, with their respective ideas as to proper closing hours and holidays, when operating in the same neighborhood, are apt to produce the kind of conflict of interest under III (p. 57) that requires a more than juridical approach if it is to be settled in such a way as to satisfy the legitimate interests of both parties.

A typical conflict under IV (p. 57) is presented by the black-balling of a Jew at the instigation of and through the full use of his right by a single member of a club where the membership is overwhelmingly in favor of the Jew's admission. Unless the matter is explained, the unsuccessful candidate for membership and all his friends are likely to charge the whole club with anti-Semitic feelings, and a new nucleus of Jewish-Gentile enmity becomes established in the community.

Somewhat different from these conflicts are those, grouped together under V (p. 57), in which seemingly unavoidable economic clashes are accentuated by the fact that one party to a class struggle or in a "life and death" competition is Jewish. Such a case exists in a certain industrial center where the smaller employers, owing to their personal closeness to every process of the trade, are able to observe certain economies in which the larger concerns cannot follow them. The two or three racial groups from which these smaller, more recently resident, aggressive industrialists are drawn, consequently are cordially disliked by the older established firms, and this dislike is coloring the whole relationship of the different ethnic groups in the community.

Jewish attitudes toward compulsory military service sometimes have given rise to the clashes of deep-going convictions contemplated in the framing of category VI (p. 57). Other cases to the point are those where the sense of right and wrong on the part of a recently immigrant Jewish group seems to be influenced by its past. They may have become accustomed by ghetto conditions in the Old World to differentiate in their conduct between responsibility toward fellow Jews and toward other citizens.

It is desirable that, before proceeding to the next point, the leader summarize the different categories of conflict problems that seem to the group to arise within the larger problem of unsatisfactory Jewish-Christian relations generally.

c. *Practically Considered.* Having come closer to an understanding of the causes and of the nature of the problem, we can now proceed to look at it as a challenge to our constructive imagination. In addition to the preceding classifications which have aided our understanding of the nature of the *problem,* we now require a helpful sub-division of the *task*—a sub-division, that is, into manageable portions with the object of control. We must have types of situations to be acted upon if we wish to build up a policy or program that can, out of the mass of calls for action, construe a few projects definite enough, and circumscribed enough in their proportions, to yield to purposeful social treatment.

Somewhat arbitrarily, six categories are suggested which, each of them, invites a somewhat different mode of action. Perhaps other divisions will occur to the leader and to the group that correspond more directly to their own diagnosis or to their own notions of available types of solutions. Our six classes should, therefore, not be taken as more than tentative indications of possible types of tasks. We shall try, again, to clarify their meaning by illustration:

Under I (p. 57) we visualize "problems" of a kind which may best be left alone. They are not problems at all for persons with a historical sense but can be relied upon to disappear as circumstances gradually shift. The long beard of the orthodox easterner, his earlocks, the hat that is apt to be too large and the coat that, to western minds, is too long, will presumably continue to give the small city urchin an aim for the shaft of his wit and, if he is very bad, of his pea-shooter. Correspondingly it will continue to create unhappiness among Jews. But as the older immigrants die out, as the European Jew learns more of American modes and manners and becomes more liberal in regard to the less significant aspects of dress and demeanor, and as, on the other hand, America becomes less provincial and more tolerant toward differences in appearance, this cause of animosity is likely to wither and to disappear.

The kinds of personal re-orientation contemplated under II (p. 57) are not necessarily the same as those had in mind under b. II, though they may be. Even where there is no obvious case of maladjustment giving rise to adverse attitudes, the individual obviously can in many situations contribute by his bearing or by his actions toward the creation of a better feeling. In some cases, to give a very typical illustration, the leadership assumed by individual Jews in movements for the social welfare has raised the whole group in non-Jewish eyes. Just because in the present study we are so much concerned with social causes and social engineering, it is important here to stress the contributions which individuals, from the vantage ground of their special opportunities and abilities, can make, and often do make, to the improvement of Jewish-Christian relations.

As we have seen, many of the difficulties which Jews experience in contact with outsiders also are to be found within the Jewish community. The adjustment of these difficulties so as to make for friendlier feeling between different sections of the Jewish community may be counted upon also to make for better understanding with the outside world. This is one type of task contemplated under III (p. 57). There are many others. If Jewish criminality, in a given place, gives rise to anti-Jewish feeling, then obviously, Jewish activities directed toward the reduction of crime will help to eliminate that cause. If Jewish students are said to behave too individualistically on a college campus, i.e., with too little regard to the convenience of others (Jews as well as non-Jews) that cause of ill-feeling may sometimes be eliminated by the creation of a Jewish fraternity for the purpose of creating a Jewish group consciousness of responsibility.

This type of task nearly always also involves processes of intra-group education which, however, are so distinct in character that we have assigned to them a special category, IV (p. 58). Jewish immigrants, more particularly, unquestionably are in need of forms of adult education which not only will help them to adjust themselves to their new environment but which, at the same time, will often help to reduce causes of anti-Semitic sentiment. Exactly what types of education will be most useful and exactly what kinds of adverse group relations will be likely to be affected by them is, of course, open to controversy.

With categories V (p. 58) and VI (p. 58) we come to questions as to Jewish activities for the improvement of attitudes toward them. Much, of course, may be expected of the automatic reaction on the part of non-Jews which may be hoped for as an indirect result of activities having their objective within the Jewish group itself. But more direct lines of action are possible. This is not the place to give a list of possible projects, but rather to raise the question under what circumstances if any is the task one involving the engineering of more, or more favorable, group contacts and under what circumstances, if any, does it involve activities directly aiming at the education of non-Jews? Illustrations, in a general way, may be seen in the various forms of cooperation between Jewish and Christian organizations to create "goodwill," and in the publication of literature for the express purpose of correcting anti-Semitic propaganda.

A summary—preliminary agreements.

Summarizing the findings of this part of the course, the leader will now be able to point to preliminary agreements within the group as to the nature of some of the major problems that challenge a constructive policy—preliminary agreements also, maybe, as to some of the channels of personal and social action through which the resultant tasks may tentatively be approached. These agreements, however, as yet include great varieties of possible action under each of the categories adopted as promising clues; and it is as much the leader's business in this summary to point to the likelihood of controversy on these remaining questions as it is to show what headway has been made in reducing the original differences of opinion as regards the nature and causes of Jewish difficulties in American life to differences over means and ends.

E. ACTION AND REACTION

P. 58, *et seq.*

The final stage of our procedure falls into four parts: (1) We must examine how our analysis of the causes and nature of the various problems involved in Jewish difficulties in American life, and of the leads that proceed from this analysis toward promising approaches toward possible solution, have affected the convictions earlier expressed (under Part C. of this outline, p. 50, *et seq.*), as regards desirable policies and programs. (2) We must bring into the focus of attention those overarching convictions as regards the goal of human advance, and of the survival and evolution of the Jewish people, which have affected the thinking of the group during the whole progress of its discussion, and see how the incipient agreements as to desirable forms of action shape up in the light of these larger aspirations. (3) We must map out what emerges as a program in which we wish to take part. (4) We must roughly outline what remains as an uncharted area of doubt concerning which we cannot agree except, maybe, to the effect that it invites further exploration.

1. ADJUSTMENTS OF ATTITUDE (p. 58). The summary which closed the previous part of the procedure makes possible a comparison of present attitudes toward possible solutions with those displayed earlier. However, it would be a mistake to take too seriously either the recent or the earlier pronouncements as regards desirable policies or actions which were tentative and not necessarily agreed upon by the whole group. There is not as yet before the group anything in the nature of a rounded program. However, it will help to establish confidence in the group process at this last and most difficult stage if, by choosing some items that have aroused

particularly vivid discussion, and questioning those members who had espoused particular points of view, as to the way in which their opinions have been affected by subsequent procedures, the leader can produce awareness of the distance travelled and the progress that has actually been made. This necessitates a form of questioning which avoids stirring mere defense reactions; it is to the enlargement of scope and information, therefore, that attention should be drawn rather than to a mere change of expressed opinion.

For example, let us assume that at an earlier session, under the heading C. 3 (p. 52), a member of the group has warmly maintained the view that Jewish newspapers should be printed in English and that young Jews should refuse to speak Yiddish except with old people who do not know any other language. "We cannot expect to be looked upon as good Americans if among ourselves we communicate in a foreign language." In the meantime, in the discussion of Part D., it has been brought up that many other things, besides difference of language, make for a sense of strangeness between American Jews and non-Jews. Jews who never read a paper printed in Hebrew characters and who never speak Yiddish, it was found, were suffering from discriminations because of their name, their appearance, a tradition of prejudice against Jews or, perhaps, real temperamental differences between most non-Jews and most Jews. It was found that some of the elements of social distance between these two groups they shared with other majority and minority groups, and that they were inherent in the situation rather than in the particular character of the groups brought into contact. Discussion under D. 2 a. (p. 56) had emphasized the influence of situation upon the nature of inter-group attitudes. Not whether a man spoke Yiddish, it had seemed to some, but whether he was in a position of competition for jobs with non-Jews, whether he was mistaken for a Bolshevist and whether he was a "joiner" or an "individualist" most affected his relations, for example, with non-Jewish fellow-workers. These additional considerations have not answered or negativated the argument that the use of a foreign language makes for social distance. But the member who, having personally observed it in several cases, had been greatly impressed with that factor and had given it out as an outstanding cause of ill-feeling now recognizes it as one of many potent factors. He is still sure that reading a Jewish paper which others cannot read, sets a man off from his fellow-workers and at times gives them a sense of distrust; but he is willing to admit now that perhaps other causes of distrust are more basic and the difference in language merely an additional item to feed a distrust primarily caused by other elements in the situation.

He has learned, further, through the discussion under D. 2 b. (p. 57), that there are different degrees of conflict among which a mild distrust, such as bi-lingualism may inspire among uni-linguists, is not, perhaps, the most serious. And the pragmatic discussion under D. 2 c. (p. 57) has turned his mind toward aspects of the matter about which it might be easier to do something. In any detailed program, that is, he would want to introduce again this question of the Yiddish language; but he is willing to put the matter aside for the time being to join in a discussion of policies which may deal either with matters of more recognized fundamental importance or with matters upon which it is easier for the group to arrive at workable policies and plans of action.

Four kinds of result in this reconsideration of earlier feelings, attitudes and proposals are likely to arise; at the two extremes (1) withdrawal and (2) re-affirmation; for the most part, it is to be hoped, (3) changed emphasis of espousal and (4) modification of the view previously held. All this, of course, will make itself felt more as "the sense of the meeting" after review of a few specific aspects of the matter than as a conclusion to be driven home through careful analysis of the whole trend of discussion.

2. ENLARGEMENT OF OUTLOOK (p. 58). Not only will many have recognized factors which were not present in their minds when first they expressed themselves on a given subtopic; but with the widening of outlook there has also come a deepening. It is seen that a certain unity characterizes the feeling of some of the members, as expressed on a variety of points, or their opposition to the trend of contributions by other members. In fact, the sense of these underlying differences will already have been likely to make itself felt, and only a determined effort to keep the discussion to the realistic consideration of experiences and situations, and the factors operating in them, will have prevented the talk from veering off into an academic and over-abstract controversy over "principles." The point has now been reached, however, where unity of motivation and of aim has become a legitimate subject of discussion, safeguarded against illusions and self-deceptions by the analytical processes through which we have passed. While it is possible that a variety of nuclei of conviction or ideal will emerge, it is assumed in the outline that at least one clear-cut division of opinion among the members will be traceable to the emphasis with which, on the one hand, the demands of Jewish survival and, on the other, those of American civilization or of general human progress will be represented as final goals. These are not contrary aims, of course. Debating on old-fashioned lines, where each side argues for a single ideal and seeks to defeat those defending the other, easily may appear to construct a wholly unreal and misleading contrast. Our purpose here is, if we can, to integrate several points of view which appeal to practically all Jews in varying degrees: Some will hold that such social ideals as those noted in the discussion can best be reached through racial or national self-perfection, others that it requires the substitution of inclusive humanistic for racial or national sympathies. But a similar divergence of attitude

may also express itself around a self-centered American nationalist policy as against an internationalist policy (with the respective feelings involved in regard to such matters as immigration, the tariff, disarmament, and the like) ; while in its most universal embodiment the question may resolve itself into the appraisal of aristocratic and democratic values in a world which unquestionably has progressed at different times in line with each of these ideals.

Deepening the Issue (p. 59). The consideration of these seemingly contrasting ideals will lend itself to a deepening of the issue if previous discussions should have seemed too superficial. While the problem as a whole is, as we have seen, largely one of external contacts, nevertheless certain undertones and overtones in Jewish-Gentile relations must be caught if essential values are not to be lost. One correspondent suggests that these fundamentals will suggest themselves to the group if the leader expands the questions here asked in the outline along two themes:

1. What sort of American society, American mores, American cultural life do we hold up as desirable and possible of achievement?
2. What, if anything, is there in the cultural and religious heritage of the Jew today to justify the maintenance of Jewish distinctiveness—even at the cost, if need be, of prejudice and conflict? [1]

These two questions, supplementing each other, call for valuations which, after the admittedly somewhat pragmatic consideration of lesser problems of attitude and behavior, can now be ventured with less danger of what Bertrand Russell calls "irrationalisation" [2] than if they had been asked at the start. And again, on the basis of this clearer concept of the values at stake it will be easier for the group, in the next stage of the procedure, to select with assurance the steps by which the distinctive ends of Jewish, American and generally human aspirations may best be integrated.

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[1] *See* Berkson's *Theories of Americanization.*

[2] Sceptical Essays, W. W. Norton & Co., 1928, p. 21.

Another Type of Outside Expert. In this discussion, which may well occupy a whole session, yet another type of outside "expert" (see p. 254) might be introduced if deemed desirable, namely, the exponent of ethical and religious ideals, or of a philosophy of life, who can help the group to lift its consideration of its major problems from the level of everyday experience, of institutional programs and practices, of individual actions and behavior forms to a level where they are seen to involve great causes of human betterment that outlives, through the ages, their temporal and local manifestations. Such an address, when it is made with cognisance of the discussions that have gone before and when it sincerely deals with the perturbations and underlying differences of the group, will not, of course, take the form of a preachment in which some one, speaking with "authority," merely puts over his personal point of view and conviction. It will be, rather, a careful comparative presentation of different convictions and points of view for the purpose of showing what it is, in larger principles, that must be integrated into a philosophy and a policy of Jewish-relations with non-Jews if it is to have permanent validity. It will be, not the "final word," but rather the "first word," in a process of cooperative thinking which has for its essential purpose the sharpening up of the larger values at stake.

3. PLANNING FOR ACTION (p. 58). Not until such a thoughtful presentation of the different types of value at stake has been made is it safe to embark upon the discussion of "solutions" or of a concrete plan of action. The foundations for this next step have been laid in the discussion of part D. 2 c. (p. 57) of our outline where possibilities of helpful

participation in a Jewish effort to overcome existing handicaps to friendly and cooperative relations with non-Jews where classified in accordance with types of effort. Before we can agree upon the details of a program it is worth while to survey briefly which of these types of activity are really open to the members of the group.

For example, discussion may reveal that, while there are infinite opportunities for those activities which act upon the members themselves, and the clientele of Jewish institutions with which they are connected, the area of possible organizational contact with non-Jews is so small, so far as members of this group are concerned, that any effort to react upon non-Jews through the engineering of group contacts or through educational activities, would be exceedingly indirect and ineffective.

Or, on the other hand, it may reveal that members of the group, as individuals, have a multitude of individual associations with mixed organizations and hardly any purely Jewish organizational contacts, so that it is actually easier for them to make their influence felt in general community education than upon the programs of Jewish institutions.

Individual and social action.

To distinguish between individual opportunities and opportunities for group action may not, in every case, be easy. But this discussion will have failed in its purpose if it leaves the participants with the impression as though "it is all a matter for individual behavior," or, on the other hand, with the impression that institutional and organizational programs, carried out by elected officers and trained staffs, were going to "turn the trick" without any further personal responsibility on the part of the rank and file. Moreover, the ethical demands upon Jewish individuals and upon Jewish institutions are not necessarily the same in superficially similar situations.

For example, an orthodox Jew, belonging to a non-denominational organization which decides to meet on Friday nights, will, after having registered an adverse vote, bow to the will of the majority and unostentatiously absent itself. A Jewish institution, on the other hand, in negotiating with non-Jewish institutions over times for joint meetings, may feel that recognition for Jewish religious laws on the part of non-Jews should be insisted upon, and may protest emphatically if it is not accorded.

It is not only interesting but necessary, therefore, to examine the relative as well as the actual demands, advantages, limitations and special values of individual action and of social action. Social action, again, must not be permitted to pass as a term vaguely indicating an impersonal unit but should be realized concretely with its different degrees of individual participation, as involving such diverse elements as voting responsibility, instruction of officers, creation of public opinion (within circles ranging from a small, local and sectional radius to a national and even international one) by means of publicity, passage of resolutions, and the like; active committee work, cooperation in personal membership activities—and many more, with the extremes of activity indicated, on the one hand, by a mere assent to policies elaborated by others and, on the other, by the choice of a career and the devotion of a life to a cause. Indeed, there is so much vagueness around the term "action" that, if time permits, it may be well worth while to help the group distinguish between the different degrees of exertion involved and also to recognize their interplay in a consistently purposeful life.

For example, to give the matter a touch of concreteness, the life and work of some one whom the group recognizes as a great Jewish leader who has contributed to a better understanding of Jews by their fellow-citizens may here be examined. To what extent was that leader's effectiveness a matter of action as a leader responsible for the shaping and carrying out of community programs? Or of specific outstanding actions as an individual? Or of imaginative leadership in bringing about new types of cooperation? Or of habits of behavior and thinking permeating his everyday life, as well as his actions in public and community affairs? With the ingredients of this "success" established in the main, their mutual influence may next be considered. Could such and such elements in the man's public career have for their background any other than what we know to have been his private habits? Could his habits have become such if at critical points in his career he had not made deliberate choices of action which predisposed him to similar action on other occasions less open to considered choices of behavior?

It is no part of this outline to suggest how agreements on policies and programs of action may best be brought about. It must necessarily depend somewhat on the auspices under which the discussion is being held whether it is desired to work, in the main, for modifications of individual behavior, for the formulation of a cooperative program by and for the group as such, for the creation or modification of other organizational or institutional programs upon which the members may have influence, or for the inauguration of a community-wide "campaign" of enlightenment. But it is hoped that, as one outcome of these studies, the major objective will not entirely crowd out agreements that bear less directly upon it than others do. For instance, a purely educational aim does not preclude but on the contrary invites plans for cooperative action on the part of the group members. Thus they may agree to carry out an experiment in personal conduct and come together again to compare notes. Or they may agree that what they have learned affects so directly the activities of the organization under whose auspices this learning has taken place as to lay upon them a responsibility for trying to change its policies. Or they may agree on a line of action to be suggested by them as a group to an outside authority—say a Board of Education or a Kehillah—which would tend to extend the scope of such educational processes as they themselves have undergone.

A List of Suggested Activities. Our outline does not attempt to exhibit for the judgment of the group specific forms of activity, individual and social, that have been found useful in furthering the objects here confronted. Such a list would, of necessity, have to be very general and contain much that does not fit the specific character and opportunities of any given group. Moreover, it may well prove of much greater educational and practical importance that the resources open to the members of the group should be discovered and discriminatingly considered than that they should choose among a set of proposals made from the outside. Nevertheless, in answer to several requests on the part of leaders who have seen a draft of this outline, we present here, without system and without comment as to their respective merits, a mixed list of activities that have been tried.

The seemingly absurd contradiction of the various recommendations which follow is due, of course, to diversity of objective. For example, one set of recommendations may be made from the point of view of Jewish education as a primary means of immunizing the Jew against anti-Semitism by giving him a more intelligent and appreciative attitude toward Judaism.[1] Another set of recommendations may be directed almost entirely by a desire to lessen occasions of conflict with non-Jews. A third, again, may be imbued with a strong nationalistic motivation; and a fourth with a concern, before all others, for the Jewish religion as both the means and the end of Jewish survival. To become aware of this diversity of objectives will be a worthwhile educational experience even if there can be no standards by which their relative validity or weight might be measured.

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[1] Thus one critic of the present text, engaged in formal Jewish educational activities, presses in his comment for more frequent references to Jewish education as the solvent of most of the problems named in the outline, not sufficiently realizing that the whole procedure is intended to be primarily educational—though not perhaps throughout along lines which professional Jewish educators will recognize as such.

Efforts to secure Jewish representation on committees for civic and philanthropic purposes, mainly non-Jewish in composition.

The abolition of separate Jewish federations of philanthropies, and similar community organizations where the purpose served, except for the group character of the clientele and of the givers, is identical with that of more inclusive federations and organizations.

The establishment of special "public relations" departments in local Jewish organizations for the purpose of using every local opportunity of dealing with anti-Semitism and of showing the Jewish community in a favorable light.

More active participation of Jews in radical enterprises for social betterment, to counter the impression that Jews share only the interests of the owning and employing classes.

Less active participation of Jews in radical enterprises, to counter the impression that Jews are incurable agitators, unsettling the community.

More intensive Jewish education as a means of fostering a more conscious and intelligent group cohesion.

The discarding of Jewish educational enterprises that make for consciousness of difference.

Placing Jewish synagogues and temples more freely at the disposal of non-denominational social and educational enterprises—in this rivalling some of the Christian churches.

The development of inter-denominational activities between the children in Jewish and those in Christian religious institutions (such as exchanges of visits, common participation in patriotic celebrations, exchanges of teachers, etc.).

The inclusion of non-Jewish children in Jewish summer-camps.

The free admission, by means of fellowships, of non-Jewish children in Jewish private schools, colleges, and other educational institutions.

The invitation of non-Jewish neighbors to holiday celebrations—such as Hanukkah—by Jewish neighborhood houses and community centers.

The sharing of philanthropic opportunities with non-Jews in neighborhoods where Jews predominate and can provide the better social services.

The introduction of distinctly Jewish items in radio, moving picture and vaudeville entertainments; also the increase of Jewish programs on the recital and concert stage.

The public claiming for Jewry of distinguished persons more generally known as Russians, Austrians, and the like.

The organization of study trips to Jewish institutions by non-Jewish students.

The promotion of inter-college and inter-high-school debates on Jewish-Gentile relations.

The discouragement of such debates.

More attention to be paid by Jewish organizations to the selection of editors on college papers.

The creation of inter-denominational fraternities with the special object of combating misunderstanding and intolerance.

The larger support of existing Cosmopolitan and other clubs with that aim.

The promotion, among Jewish students, of field studies among racial and religious minority groups that face similar problems to theirs.

Organized promotion of home visits between Jewish and non-Jewish students, fellow-workers or fellow-members of civic organizations where intimate relations between members of the two groups are rare.

Boycott of all commercial and non-commercial places of entertainment that discriminate against any Jews on account of their Jewishness.

Boycott of all business establishments that discriminate against Jews in their appointments or business dealings.

Organization of inter-denominational summer institutes for the intimate common study of inter-denominational relations between Americans of different faiths.

The adoption of English speech in all conversation and printed matters except where Yiddish is unavoidable as a means of communication with and between immigrants.

The cultivation of Yiddish speech by all Jews as a means of fostering the cohesion and self-respect of the group.

The volunteering of young Jewish men and women for non-Jewish or inclusive forms of social service.

Greater activity on the part of young Jewish men and women to build up distinctively Jewish social services so as to make Jews even more independent of benefits from non-Jewish sources.

The dramatization and public presentation of Jewish historical and religious traditions.

Abandonment of Jewish New Year celebrations.

The promotion of studies in manners and etiquette in every Jewish institution for children and adolescents.

The adoption of more rigorous codes of manners by Jewish intellectuals and in the more influential sets generally.

The abandonment of excessive displays in personal and home decorations by well-to-do Jews. (In general, a "toning down" of the Jewish love of ornament in communities with a more puritanical tradition and taste.)

The cultivation of characteristically Jewish tastes in all the fine and applied arts.

The gift, to public libraries and non-Jewish educational institutions, of books sympathetically inclined toward Judaism.

The more rapid development of Jewish farming in America, which would counteract criticism of Jews as exclusively urban in their interests.

The support of movements for the further restriction of Jewish immigration.

A more rapid Americanization of immigrant Jews in the externals of American life.

The support of institutions and activities that prevent too rapid an Americanization of Jews in externals.

The creation of Jewish fraternities.

The discouragement of Jewish fraternities.

Discarding of the racial concept of Judaism and concentration by Jews on their religious heritage.

Relinquishment by Jews of their distinctive and separative religious customs.

Types of Cooperative Action. When agreement has been reached on a selected group of desirable activities, these should be examined not only from the point of view of their demands upon individual or group responsibility (see above) but also from that of different degrees and modes of cooperation with non-Jews that may be involved. For example, one type of activity—say, a more intensive study of Jewish history, with the aim of strengthening Jewish group consciousness—may affect exclusively Jews, as individuals and as members and directors of Jewish institutions. Another type of activity—say, the harmonization of Jewish social work objectives with those of non-Jewish agencies—may provide the occasion for closer cooperation between Jews and non-Jews, possibly even the establishment of joint agencies or committees and the pooling of funds. A third type of activity—designed to emphasize a common aim as in itself a bond of mutual appreciation and friendship—may require the setting up of new Jewish-non-Jewish agencies for the special purpose of making mutuality the outstanding feature of the enterprise and of signalizing the nature rather than the immediate practical objective of the joint effort as its main feature. Then again, some activities may best be advanced by full cooperation, others by limited cooperation—cooperation with other religious groups, for example, or with specific ethnic groups. To make clear distinctions in these respects will help to sharpen up responsibility for action and show where practical activity in any given case may best begin.

Success in this part of the discussion is reached when the traditional but false antithesis between "learning" and "doing" is bridged over: The participants have come to recognize that in transferring their individual or joint activity from the study room to the field of action they are entering upon a new phase of learning, and, on the other hand, that no program of action is complete that does not contain the elements of further revision of attitudes, enlargement of outlook, and deepening of the quest for a better life.[1]

4. OBJECTS OF FURTHER STUDY (p. 59). While there had to be a definite starting point for our discussion with the experience and concern which the members brought with them to the first group meeting, and a definite order of procedure to lead the discussion through a recognizable progression of considerations, it is by no means necessary that it should come to a stopping point with a definite conclusion. Not only at the end of the course, but at the end of each session, the group should feel that it has got further on in its understanding of the program; but if a true attitude of study has been engendered, they will not wish to feel that they have "finished." For, as we have gone along, there have opened up at many points vistas of tempting possibilities of further inquiry which we have had to leave unexplored. At the conclusion, some of the more important of these glimpses may consciously be called to mind as approaches to aspects of the problem that require other forms of study, reading, research, experiment.

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[1] Not directly related to the issue of Jewish-Gentile relations, and therefore somewhat outside the scope of the present course of study, but helpful to an examination of what is involved in "social action" as regards different kinds of personal and group responsibility, would be an experiment to analyse in group discussion the types of action called for in such a document as the *Program of Social Justice* adopted by the Central Conference of American Rabbis (Chicago, June, 1928).

PART V

ATTITUDE AND OPINION TESTS

THE following tests have been devised primarily for the purpose of securing a rapid survey of agreements and disagreements in Jewish groups studying Jewish relations with non-Jews. Obviously it is desirable that the group should as soon as possible in the procedure become aware of the subjective background or backgrounds from which many of the "facts" presented are seen and judged. For inquiries such as the present, a search for objectively accurate data is not necessary. In the give and take of group discussion, laboratory conditions of psychological research cannot be brought about; moreover, since one of the objects of the study is to create a fuller understanding for the psychological factors which normally may be expected to accompany a discussion of the topic and to color its presentation, it is more important to come to know what these factors are than to attempt to exclude them.

One or several, if not all, of the following tests may prove convenient, therefore, to ascertain the degree and kind of bias present within the group itself. *They are not intended for statistical tabulation of group opinion or for recording deeply held convictions and the results of mature thought.* Rather are they designed to ascertain first reactions and offhand opinions of the kind that are given and received in the course of a conversation without committing the speaker to positions from which it is difficult for him to retract afterwards should he change his mind. In this way we shall get an impressionistic picture of what is in the minds of the group members.

In some cases a comparison of such reactions will supply the leader with interesting starting points of discussion. In others it will help individuals to recognize the degree of consistency with which in ordinary circumstances they respond to situations involving Jewish contacts with non-Jews. Again, if there should be considerable divergency on topics of special interest to the group, this little test may help to create the necessary incentive for a closer study than these topics would otherwise have received; or it may draw attention to lack of information which must be secured by reading or by consultation before fruitful discussion is possible.

In the text of the study outline, and in the suggestions to discussion leaders, places have been indicated where these tests might usefully be applied. (See pp. 47, 233, 236, 237, 241.) However, it depends somewhat on the composition of the group and its initial keenness, on the progress of the discussion procedure and other circumstances, what places in the program will be the most suitable or convenient for one or other of the suggested experiments in self-analysis.

The individual reader and student, likewise, will find these tests a convenient way of discovering his own inconsistencies or needs for further information before a sure judgment can be formed. In several cases, similar tests have been used for a sort of intellectual parlor game. More serious purposes aside, it is amusing to explore one's own unconscious prejudices and those of one's esteemed elders!

1. WORD REACTION [1]

A seemingly meaningless jumble of nouns and phrases are listed below. Nevertheless, a record of first reactions to the mention of each of these words separately may help to build up a fairly concrete picture of a state of mind in regard to a given area of interest. Of course, this test would be falsified if the student were to attempt to make his replies consistent by pondering each response in the light of previous responses. To get at the truth, the replies should be noted as rapidly as possible, as separate immediate responses, however incoherent. Each word or phrase should be considered not more than five seconds. If it calls up a disagreeable association, cross it out. Cross out as many or as few as you will. The words left standing will not be regarded as having called up agreeable associations; only those crossed out register your reactions—namely, that they are more annoying than pleasing, more antagonizing than appealing, more distasteful than attractive.

1. Christmas
2. Lord Balfour
3. Ikon
4. Chosen People
5. Conversion
6. Rumania
7. Assimilation
8. Shylock
9. Cheder
10. Christian Science
11. Henry Ford
12. Levine
13. Racial Minority
14. Turkey
15. Milk Stations
16. Gefillte Fisch
17. York
18. Bialistock
19. Altar
20. Gospels
21. Anglo-Saxon
22. Semite
23. Epstein
24. Ethical Culture
25. Nationalism
26. Dogma
27. Gentile
28. Hilaire Belloc

[1] See p. 233.

29. Trotsky
30. Henry Morgenthau
31. Reform
32. Hillel
33. Diaspora
34. Harvard
35. Dog Kennel
36. Abie's Irish Rose
37. Americanism
38. Ashkenazim
39. Kosher
40. Virgin Birth
41. Banquets
42. Censorship
43. Athletics
44. Delicatessen
45. Hindenburg
46. Hellenism
47. Atonement
48. Christian
49. Lessing
50. Maimonides
51. Martin Luther
52. Spain
53. Arab
54. Military service
55. Cloak and Suit Industry
56. Ukraine
57. Sapiro
58. General Relief Committee
59. Catskill Resorts
60. Lassalle
61. Yom tov (Two days)
62. Goy
63. Jewish vote
64. Sukkoth

2. MUTUAL CRITICISM [1]

This test has a twofold purpose. In listing what Jews say of non-Jews and what non-Jews say of Jews it should aid Jewish readers and discussion groups to examine the extent to which they identify themselves with the opinions held by other Jews and to see themselves as some others see Jews. In neither case is the opinion listed necessarily one widely held; but each of the statements made has actually been overheard somewhere or other. For groups that wish to record their own joint opinion as to whether an opinion listed has been heard frequently, occasionally or never, special columns to this effect have been added on the left side of the table. For most groups, however, these may well be omitted, and a record be taken only of the opinion as to the truthfulness or of justification for each statement.

Lists of this kind, when made up by one social group about another, have been called "anthologies of hate"; but it is not known that a single person holds all or even a majority of the statements contained in either list of indictments. Again, it is first reactions rather than the results of mature study that are called for. Obviously, many of the statements will lend themselves to discussion, perhaps even to research (as regards their possible basis of truth); but the present checking is designed primarily to ascertain how, at first blush, each of the statements strikes the reader and whether, in a given Jewish study group, the diversity of immediate responses to them may be the result of differences either in understanding, in background and experience, or in temperament.

Please indicate your opinion about each of the statements below by placing a check in the column headed by the word which expresses your judgment. The following abbreviations have been used:

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[1] See p. 236.

J—Justified U—Unjustified
PJ—Probably Justified PU—Probably Unjustified
D—Doubtful

If it is desired to collect opinions as to the frequency with which the different statements are heard, each person checking the list should place a check in one of the three columns F, O, N on the left side of the page—F standing for frequently, O for occasionally, and N for never.

Thus a checking

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
	√		7. Christians are Polytheists				√	

would indicate that in the opinion of the answerer the statement is occasionally heard and that it is probably unjustified.

a. *What Jews Say of Gentiles*

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
			1. They are dumb-headed (not mentally quick).					
			2. They tend to be violent. (The crimes they commit are more apt to be crimes of violence.)					
			3. Not even the most liberal Gentile can understand Jews.					
			4. They are immoderate and do things to excess. For example, drinking.					
			5. They will not give Jews a square deal, discriminating against them in business and in employment.					
			6. The Anglo-Saxon and German types particularly are cold and restrained.					

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
			7. Christians are polytheists.					
			8. Some of the precepts of Jesus are impracticable.					
			9. Non-Jews are jealous of the success of Jews.					
			10. Catholics in particular are idolaters.					
			11. Gentiles waste too much time on games and athletics.					
			12. They believe the most impossible doctrines, such as the virgin birth, immaculate conception, resurrection, the Trinity, and God had a son.					
			13. Gentiles don't care to live well. Jews spend a larger percentage of their income on rent and food and service. Gentiles spend it on automobiles, drink and parties.					
			14. Christians have a distorted idea of the Jewish idea of God.					
			15. Their Jesus has brought untold suffering on his own people.					
			16. They make friends of Jews when they think they can get something out of them.					
			17. Prominent Christians like to have a Jewish friend for show purposes, to attest their tolerance and to be able to continue practices of exclusion without being dubbed anti-Semitic.					

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
			18. Gentiles who are aware of Jewish blood in their veins are the worst anti-Semites.					
			19. They call Mendelssohn-Bartholdy a German, Meyerbeer a Frenchman, Wieniawski a Russian composer—and similarly in other culture fields try to withhold from the Jewish people credit for great achievements. On the other hand, when a man is charged with a crime, they call him not a Pole or a German, etc., but a Jew.					
			20. They try to keep Jewish names out of American history textbooks.					
			21. Gentiles are crude in their tastes —in regard both to dress and to food.					
			22. Non-Jews will make friends of you and on some crucial occasion suddenly drop or disown you in order not to compromise their social position.					
			23. Jewish girls are less safe in non-Jewish neighborhoods than in Jewish ones.					
			24. Sunday School teaching for the most part makes for intolerance.					

b. *What Gentiles Say of Jews*[1]

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
			1. Jews are usually ill-mannered and pushing.					
			2. They are clannish and stick together against Gentiles.					
			3. They won't even trust each other, but prefer to put Christians in responsible positions.					
			4. They will not eat with Christians.					
			5. They are seeking a financial stranglehold on the nation.					
			6. They are greedy and avaricious.					
			7. They make themselves disagreeable as neighbors.					
			8. They are the Christ-killers.					
			9. They are arrogant, holding Gentiles in contempt as inferior.					
			10. They always remain alien and unassimilable wherever they go.					
			11. They are quarrelsome and disputatious, even among themselves.					
			12. They will haggle and bargain over small sums.					
			13. They are controlling and degrading the American theatre and other forms of popular recreation.					
			14. They have no political genius.					

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[1] See footnote 1, p. 237.

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
			15. The Jewish religion is external and legalistic.					
			16. They are undermining the Sunday laws of the country.					
			17. They seldom enlist in the army unless compelled; prefer to let the other fellow do the fighting.					
			18. They make life uncomfortable for another Jew if he becomes a Christian.					
			19. Most gangsters and gunmen are Jews.					
			20. They bitterly oppose intermarriage of Jews and Christians.					
			21. They are financiers and merchants rather than farmers and producers.					
			22. They are commercializing Christian festivals and seeking to eliminate the specifically Christian features of them.					
			23. They are largely responsible for Bolshevism and Communism.					
			24. Jews furnished most of the founders of modern Socialism.					
			25. They are so unassimilable that they keep an alien calendar and alien holidays.					
			26. They try to control labor-unions.					
			27. When business is bad, a Jew will burn down his store to collect the insurance.					

F	O	N		J	PJ	D	PU	U
			28. They are trying to control the press.					
			29. They are physically repulsive.					
			30. They are loud and ostentatious, overfond of jewelry and display.					
			31. Jewish neighborhoods are dirty.					
			32. The Jewish dietary laws are antiquated and do not reflect the demands of modern hygiene.					

3. PERSONAL RELATIONS[1]

The purpose of this test is to secure a picture of opinion (and of diversities of opinion) on the desirability of different forms of personal contact and relations between Jews and Gentiles. (It is drafted, of course, in the present connection, for use only by Jewish readers and discussion groups.) Since the aim is not statistical but rather to indicate roughly existing states of feeling, the definiteness of absolute choices is not required. Under each question imagine a typical situation and register your probable behavior in that situation without first endeavoring to ascertain the precise circumstances. If you would decidedly prefer not to play the part suggested in the question, indicate your attitude by placing a check in the "no" column; if you have no hesitation to do so, place it in the "yes" column; if you are conscious of no preference or doubtful as to what your attitude would be in such a case, place your check in the middle column.

I. *In Economic Life*

	No	No Preference or Not Sure	Yes
1. Would you rather work under a Jewish than under a non-Jewish boss?			
2. Would you, other things being equal, prefer to entrust a Jewish rather than a non-Jewish lawyer with your interests?			
3. Would you, if a manufacturer, prefer to be represented by Jewish agents?			

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[1] See p. 241.

	No	No Preference or Not Sure	Yes
4. Would it make any difference to your shopping list if the owner of a department store on your way were known to you as a Jew recently baptised?			
5. Would you promote Jewish employes in your business as rapidly to positions of exceptional responsibility as non-Jewish ones?			
6. If you were the owner of an apartment house and the state of the market seemed to permit a raising of rents, would it make any difference in your decision whether the tenants were Jews or non-Jews?			
II. *In Social Life*			
1. Would you prefer membership in a country club of			
a. exclusively Jewish membership?			
b. mainly Jewish membership			
c. mixed membership			
d. non-Jewish membership?			
2. Would you, in your daily associations but outside your work, prefer to keep company with			
a. Jews			

	No	No Preference or Not Sure	Yes
b. a mixed group of Jews and non-Jews			
c. non-Jews?			
3. Would you like to see Christians in your home on Jewish holidays?			
a. if they happened to call socially?			
b. if they came for the purpose of observing and participating in Jewish customs?			
4. Would you prefer for a son-in-law a man of good Jewish family who does not in any way identify himself with the Jewish community, or a man of even better family but with no Jewish blood at all?			
5. Would you rather travel with influential Gentiles of your acquaintance or with entertaining but uninfluential Jewish acquaintances?			
6. If a former German officer were presented for membership in your club, would you vote against him if you knew nothing about him except that he was in the old Prussian			

	No	No Preference or Not Sure	Yes
army and of an aristocratic Protestant family?			
III. *In Political Life*			
1. Other things being equal, would you prefer to vote for a Jew rather than for a non-Jew?			
a. in a national election?			
b. in a local election?			
2. Would you prefer to vote for a Catholic rather than a Protestant (to secure representation for religious minorities)?			
3. Would it influence your choice of a candidate (your own interest not being affected either way) if Jews prominent in business or law were known to you to favor one rather than the other?			
4. Would your vote be decisively affected by the stand of a candidate for national office on			
a. armaments			
b. immigration legislation			
c. the rights of racial minorities?			
5. Would you be favorably influenced by a national candidate's			

	No	No Preference or Not Sure	Yes
a. membership of a racial minority			
b. attitude toward organized religion			
c. place of origin?			
6. Would you, as a candidate for office, prefer to represent a constituency			
a. with large Jewish population			
b. with large non-Jewish immigrant population			
c. with a considerable Klan membership?			
IV. *In Religious Life*			
1. Would you, if a parent, prefer to have your children taught by Jewish teachers with a religious background?			
2. Would you give Christmas gifts to Christian servants?			
3. Would you like to have a group of Christian students, desirous to know more of the Jewish faith, attend the meetings of your class in the synagogue or temple?			
4. Would you like to hear a Jesuit father expound the tenets of the Catholic faith?			

	No	No Preference or Not Sure	Yes
5. Would you like to see the Jewish faith introduced as the state church in Palestine?			
6. Would you like to have the public school system of your community provide two periods of two hours each per week during school hours for religious education?			
7. Would you object to the employment of a non-Jewish undertaker if he enjoys a higher reputation than any Jewish undertaker in the community?			
8. Would you keep your head covered if, on a patriotic holiday, the Stars and Stripes were carried into your synagogue? [1]			

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[1] This question is based on the following incident: On a patriotic holiday, a group of Reform Jewish women were conducting a meeting in an Orthodox synagogue for the children of that congregation. A flag was brought in, and some of the boys took off their hats while others refused to do so. Some of the women thought the boys who kept their hats on were unpatriotic; others said only those were unpatriotic who exposed the boys to such a dilemma; true Americanism consisted, they held, in not raising an unnecessary conflict of loyalities between God and country.

4. POLICY AND PROGRAM [1]

The following test, like the preceding, has for its purpose to secure a picture of existing attitudes with regard to the desirability of modes of behavior. But whereas the previous test had to do entirely with personal choices, the present one relates to social policies and programs. Moreover, for those who may have found difficulty in answering questions as to how they would act in circumstances that were briefly indicated but not described in detail, it may be convenient to have here a series of opinion questions asked in a somewhat different form: For the question, in form, the reader finds substituted a statement of fact as to the desirability or undesirability of a given mode of action; and all he is asked to do is to indicate whether that statement corresponds to his views.

In the present table, moreover, you are given five choices instead of three: If the statement is one which you would not hesitate to make yourself, place a check in the first column, "true"; if it is one to which you can in no wise subscribe, place it in the last column, "false." If hesitating to judge, nevertheless you feel that on the whole it is "probably true," put your check in the second column; and, similarly in the fourth if you feel that it is "probably false." If from lack of knowledge or for other reasons you prefer to express no judgment on the matter, place your check in the middle column, "doubtful."

	T	PT	D	PF	F
1. The celebration of Hanukah in Jewish homes and institutions should be assimilated to the conventional celebration of Christmas so as to eliminate inducements for Jews to observe the Christian holiday.					

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[1] See p. 241.

	T	PT	D	PF	F
2. Jewish philanthropies should be rounded out in such a way as to make the Jewish community entirely independent of non-Jewish benefits.					
3. The relief of Jewish suffering abroad should be a first charge upon American Jewish philanthropy after the immediate needs of distress and destitution here have been met.					
4. Jews should give preference to Jews whenever such are available for positions to be filled.					
5. Jewish elementary schools are an anachronism and should be closed.					
6. Jews should maintain the performance of their sacred rituals, whether their religious beliefs are orthodox or not, in order to maintain the survival of the Jewish people in a predominantly Christian nation.					
7. Jews should endeavor to get into social circles hitherto closed to them in order to help, by personal contacts, break down existing prejudices.					
8. Jews should make common cause with other racial and religious minorities in American political life whenever opportunities offer to do so.					

	T	PT	D	PF	F
9. Jews should not permit their religion or their race in any way to determine their party affiliation.					
10. Jews should make common cause with the enlightened minorities everywhere to break down religious and political intolerance.					
11. Jews of all parties should, before important elections, take common counsel to ensure the support by all of candidates favorable to Jewish interests.					
12. Jews should enter a wider range of vocations in order to break down false assumptions as regards the limits of their abilities.					
13. Jews should give up the establishment and support of hospitals and clinics of their own in communities where the religious needs of Jews are recognized and met in non-denominational institutions.					
14. Jews should not permit either economic motives or the desire for closer relations with Christians to interfere with the strict observance of the Jewish Sabbath.					
15. Exchanges of pulpits between Jewish and Christian preachers should be encouraged.					
16. Jews should organize their own clubs, fraternities, etc.					

APPENDIX

SUGGESTED ADAPTATIONS OF GENERAL DISCUSSION OUTLINE FOR WOMEN'S GROUPS WITHOUT TRAINED LEADERSHIP

By EMILY SOLIS-COHEN
of the Jewish Welfare Board

The following questions are suggested as additions or partial substitutions for those found under the same headings in the general outline, p. 37, *et seq.* They indicate an alternative method for a situation approach to several of the fields of experience there considered, which can also be applied to the other fields.[1]

A. TESTIMONY OF EXPERIENCE

In answer to the following questions, please state exact instances in your experience or in the experience of others about which you have accurate knowledge. Try to separate fact from opinion.

I. IN ECONOMIC LIFE

a. As Wage-earners

How do you search for a position?

1. *ADVERTISEMENTS?*

Do you feel free to apply for any position advertised in the press for which you feel qualified? If so, why? If not, why?

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[1] See p. 37, footnote 3.

How do you apply? If through letter, what facts do you put in the letter? If through visit or telephone call, what steps do you actually take? What has been your experience in regard to your treatment by the advertiser if you apply in person? Or in regard to your written application?

Do you give every fact about yourself that seems necessary? Are you asked for any facts which do not appear actually relevant to your qualifications for the position? If so, what are the questions? Do you give all facts in reply? Do you withhold any? Give your reasons for your actions.

Do you always use your own name in answering advertisements or in applying for a position? Have you ever made any misstatement in connection with securing a position? If so, in what regard and in what circumstances?

2. *EMPLOYMENT AGENCIES*

Do you use employment agencies? List those that you have used. State whether they are commercial or whether they are connected with a social service organization, such as a Y.W.-H.A. or Y.W.C.A.

What has been your experience with these various agencies? What questions have you been asked? How have you replied to them? What happens if you state that you are a Jewess? Have you ever made any statement in regard to religion? If so, what?

3. *DIRECT APPLICATION*

Have you ever made direct application to an employer without having answered an advertisement or visited an agency? If so, describe how you went about it and what your experiences have been.

Analysis of above experiences.

When from the accounts of experiences those actual facts have been sifted of which the group has authentic knowledge—either at first hand or from reliable sources—reconsider these, as follows:

1. Has there been any factor common to all the experiences that members of the group or those they know have had in seeking work?
2. What do such experiences, if frequent, mean in prevalent attitudes toward Jewish applicants for work?

2. IN POLITICAL LIFE

a. As Citizens

Are you an American citizen by birth or by naturalization?

Do you vote?

Do you register in any party?

Have you ever participated in work in your city and state for the election of any candidate for office? For the furthering of any legislation in your city, state or in Congress? If you have, how have you done it? If you have not, why have you not?

What influences your choice of a candidate for office?

Have you any preference as to men over women? If so, does the preference hold for all offices or for special offices? Have you any preference as to women over men? If so, for what offices? Have you preference as to Christian over Jew? Have you any preference as to Jew over Christian? If so, why? Has this preference been exercised by voting, or is it merely an opinion?

In an election, have you ever been asked to vote for a certain candidate or in support of certain measures? If so, by whom? What reasons have they given? What was their social relationship to you? How have you acted on their suggestion?

Have you received political literature asking for your vote on the grounds of your religious faith or your sex? If so, by whom has it been issued? How have you acted on their suggestions?

Have you known of any Jew or Jewess who wished to be a candidate for office but was refused by the party? On what grounds was the refusal based? Have you known of any Christian man or woman who has been refused for office? On what grounds was this based?

Through what channels has this information come to you?

Have you had any direct contact with the law, whether by having to be in court in any capacity, or in your work, or through the knowing of court experiences of others? Describe these experiences.

Analysis of above experiences.

When you have separated from your accounts of experiences the actual facts of which the group has authentic knowledge—either at first hand or from reliable sources—reconsider these, as follows:

1. Has there been any factor common to all the experiences that members of the group have had in exercising their rights or duties as citizens?
2. What do such experiences, if frequent, mean in prevalent attitudes toward Jewish citizens?
3. How do these experiences compare with those of (a) women or (b) Jews in other countries—say, Great Britain, Germany, Hungary, Rumania, Russia (now and before the Revolution), Turkey, Palestine?

3. IN RELIGIOUS LIFE

What do you consider to be the important religious factors in Jewish life?

Have you in your experience had any difficulty in observing the religious life that you wish? Sabbath and Dietary laws? Describe your experiences. Have you had to give up either your religious observances or other desirable ways of life?

Do Christians have to make a similar sacrifice? Can you state any experiences of Christians to indicate whether they do?

What is your experience in regard to

1. Intermarriage,
2. The conduct of Institutions?

Have you had a so-called Jewish education? If so, where and of what character?

Have you had—in school or in college or in any other institution—any teaching in regard to the Jewish way of looking at life or of Jewish history?

Have you had the history or the stories of other religions taught you?

Analysis of above experiences

When you have separated from your accounts of experiences those facts of which the group has authentic knowledge—either at first hand or from reliable sources—reconsider them, as follows:

1. What do you consider the important religious factors in Jewish life?
2. What do you mean when you use the words religion—church—synagogue—temple—Schul?
3. How do you regard yourself as a Jew? Are you considering yourself a member of a religious group, a national group, a racial group?
4. What do you mean by race—nation—nationality—citizenship—religion?

Note: Both the questions of fact and those of definition that remain unanswered should be further considered (at the same session or a later one) in the light of authoritative or suggestive books of the kind listed in the bibliography (p. 212, *et seq.*).

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